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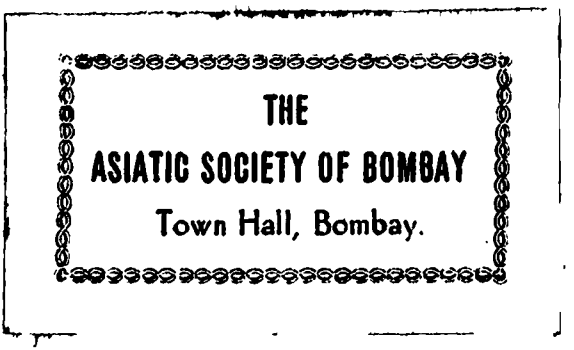

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THE

LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE,

CONTAINING

EVERY AUTHENTIC PARTICULAR

By which his extraordinary Character has been formed;

WITH A CONCISE

HISTORY OF THE EVENTS

THAT HAVE OCCASIONED

HIS UNPARALLELED ELEVATION,

AND A

PHILOSOPHICAL REVIEW

OF HIS MANNERS AND POLICY AS

A Soldier, a Statesman, and a Sovereign.

INCLUDING

Memoirs and Original Anecdotes

OF

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY,

AND THE

MOST CELEBRATED CHARACTERS THAT HAVE APPEARED IN FRANCE

DURING THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. V.

37365

BY

WILLEM LODEWYK VAN ESS.

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LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

Various Treaties....Institution of the Legion of Honour ....Resignation of the King of Sardinia....Piedmont, Parma, &c. added to France....Erection of the Ligurian Republic....Unsuccessful Attempts of the British Government to enter into a commercial Treaty with France.... British Merchandise partly excluded....English Newspapers suppressed. ..The Business of the German Indemnities concerted between France and Russia....The ineffectual Opposition of the Emperor of Germany....The great Alteration produced in the Empire, and vast Acquisition to the Power and Influence of the French.

THE present year, it was observed, was the year of treaties: while these consolidated the power of the French Government abroad, the creation of a legion of honour, and Buonaparté's erection of himself into the President of the Italian Republic, added to his security at home; though, why this should be called a republic, the head of which was as absolute as any monarch whatever, was, indeed, the cause of some surprise. During this year, Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, weary of being a king, with only the name of a kingdom, voluntarily abdicated his throne, in favour of his brother Victor Emanuel, the Duke of Aoust, then banished, as it were, to the little island of Sardinia: Piedmont, and the Duchy of Parma,

were added as integral departments of France. The once magnificent city of Genoa, and all its territory, under the name of the Ligurian Republic, likewise became French provinces, in everything but the name, though the government was vested in a Doge, whose functions were to endure six years, and a Senate of thirty members, one-third of them to be changed every three years. Even in this little establishment a naval force was not overlooked: Genoa was bound to support two ships of 74 guns, two frigates, and four corvettes. But, though Russia and Turkey had been fortunate enough to obtain treaties with the Head of the French government, with England he was too wary to be surprised into any measure of this nature: in vain did the minister and the merchants flatter themselves with the idea of a commercial treaty with France.

The First Consul saw too far to bind himself to conditions, in which all the advanatge would have been on the side of England. He had an equal right, with Mr. Pitt, to study the prosperity of his own country; and there can be no doubt, as he saw the vast accession of territory and influence likely to accrue to France, while England might justly have been supposed to have passed her zenith; that, on this ground, there could be nothing like an equality between the contracting parties. In fact, the suspicious and unaccommodating temper of the French Government soon shewed itself; for, with respect to our pressing them on this subject, and our anxiety for a commercial connexion, the cry, on their part, was, relative to England, "The Treaty of Amiens! and nothing but the Treaty of Amiens!" About this time, also, a decree, prohibiting the importation of British manufactures on the left bank of the Rhine, soon put the matter beyond all doubt. English partiality, however, put an hostile construction upon this, and several other measures which the First Consul adopted, merely to employ and excite the industry of his own subjects; and the English news-

papers, on this account, became so coarse, so personal and scandalous in their abuse, that, on the 20th of August, 1802, the circulation of English newspapers were prohibited in France. In the meanwhile, Buonaparté, after obtaining an additional ten years to his consulship, proceeded to get himself constituted First Consul of France for life. The next step to this, was the Senates enabling him to appoint his successor. It can scarcely be doubted, that he then entertained the design of becoming an Emperor, and that these steps were adopted as measures preparatory to that important end. When made Consul for Life (with what propriety his subsequent actions will best declare) he obscurely hinted at something like a divine right to that station; and observed, that "He was called by HIM, from whom all things emanate, to restore upon earth, justice, order, and equality!"

The daily extension of Buonaparté's power gave very serious uneasiness to the Emperor of Germany, as well as to the English; so much so, that the Imperial Cabinet, though bound by the Treaty of Luneville to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, was, nevertheless, extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. The court of Vienna even remonstrated against the recent proceeding of the First Consul, in annexing the duchies of Parma and Placenza to the French Republic. It appeared, that by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the House of Austria claimed the succession to these sovereignties, in case of the failure of issue in the present reigning branch. This, however, was no time to revive old claims, and the reluctance of the Emperor to enter upon the German indemnities, probably, urged Buonaparté to hasten them. The French Treaty with Russia, it soon appeared, referred to the business that was to be opened at Ratisbon. The Emperor of Russia was called in, in some measure, as one of its guarantees. It was, in some degree, an unhappy

precedent, because it was upon the ground of the Emperor of Russia's guarantee that he, afterwards, interfered, together with the King of Sweden, in order, as they urged, to preserve the Germanic Constitution. In a matter where so many jarring interests were implicated, where states and principalities were to be again portioned out; where the lesser powers were to be sacrificed as remunerations to the greater, it was not strange that the proceedings should be rather tardy. Nothing was effectually done till the 17th of July, when the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, stating, that he had not ceased to occupy his attention with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the principal parties had applied, in the meantime, to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of these powers in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for: that Russia, had, consequently, proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February 1802; and that, soon after, a Convention was concluded, *without his participation*, between France and Russia; and it was desired his Imperial Majesty would direct the definitive arrangement of it, according to the constitution. It was thus that, by the superior policy and influence of Buonaparté, the ancient and stupendous fabric of the Germanic Empire was loosened, and, as it were, taken down by piecemeal. However, the Emperor seeing all his authority about to be taken from him, submitted, for the time, with the best grace he could; he, nevertheless, by his persevering objections, obtained terms rather more advantageous, than might have been expected, for his royal relative, the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The newly modified scheme of indemnities, was called A Supplement to the Plan: according to this, the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar; the Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made Electors; and the King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the Bishopric of Osna-

burgh, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, provided Osnaburgh was given him in perpetuity, as formerly, he had only the right of alternate nomination to that bishopric. He now abandoned, on behalf of the cities of Hamburgh and Bremen, the rights and property he exercised in and over them. But, to raise the interest of France in the German Empire, upon the ruins of the House of Austria, the First Consul and his Majesty the Emperor of Russia agreed, that it was at once possible and suitable to preserve in the empire an ecclesiastical elector. They proposed, in consequence, that the Arch-chancellor should be transferred to Ratisbon, with the Abbey of St. Emeran, Ober Munster, and Neider Munster; preserving his antient possession of the great bailiwick of Aschaffenburg, on the right of the Main. This new officer, afterwards proved to be a person of great consequence in promoting the interest of the French empire.

In the meanwhile, a dispute between the Elector of Bavaria, and his neighbour, the Bishop of Passau, had nearly proceeded to blows. The Emperor of Germany supported the latter, and took possession of the bishopric, to keep it out of the hands of the Elector.

On the 22nd of August, the Emperor could no longer refrain from causing his commissary, Baron Hugel, to express his displeasure to the Diet. He flattered the newly conquered Germans, by styling them a *free, independent* nation; and mentioned the Emperor's surprize, that they should permit two foreign powers to prescribe to it in its internal concerns. On the 24th, the same complaints were renewed in an Imperial rescript; which was answered on the 28th by the French Minister, Laforet, who simply enforced the declaration of the two mediating powers. The Emperor again expressed his dissatisfaction as to indemnities granted to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; but, on the 8th of September, the influence of France rose predominant in the Diet: the plan of indemnities, after much debate, was accepted, and a

conclusum voted accordingly. The court of Vienna, still thinking its interests neglected, had instructed Baron Hugel, the Imperial Plenipotentiary, to refuse to ratify the Conclusum. At length, in the thirtieth sitting of the Deputation, on the 22nd of November, a final *conclusum* was voted, and which was ultimately, though with great reluctance, acceded to by the Emperor, with very few alterations; and thus, as it was observed, a total, and a violent alteration was made in the map of Germany; the constitution of which suffered a much greater infraction than that effected by the Treaty of Westphalia, and the Thirty Years War, when the arrogance of the House of Austria had been humbled by the heroic Gustavus Adolphus, and Prince Maurice, of Saxony. Thus, by virtue of treaties, and by force of arms, France, under the First Consul, had acquired an extent of territory of four thousand five hundred square miles, with an additional population of four millions, three hundred and eighty-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-eight inhabitants; comprehending Savoy, Nice, Avignon, the Austrian Netherlands, Geneva, and all the German possessions on the left bank of the Rhine; together with Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, and the island of Elba, comprising a population of nearly one million more. Besides this, France exercised an unlimited controul over the whole of Italy, the United Provinces, and the Republic of Genoa; while Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, were looked upon much in the same light as allies.

THE END OF CHAP. I.

CHAPTER II.

Actual State of Switzerland, previous to its Invasion by the French....Whimsical Mode of choosing Counsellors, &c....Severe Remarks by Mr. Coxe, on the old Swiss Government selling their Subjects to France....Letter from the First Consul, to Citizen Reding....The Patriots, or Partizans of the old Aristocracy take Arms....The Cantons of Baden and Argovia, rise in a Mass....Various Operations....Buonaparté's Letter to the Swiss Cantons ....The Answer to it by the Helvetic Diet....The Swiss Diet dissolves itself....Aloys Reding, and his Adherents, made Prisoners....Final Result of the last Attempts of the Oligarchy to regain their lost Influence....Arrival of the Swiss Deputies at Paris....Letter delivered to them from the First Consul....The Act of Mediation....Its Necessity and Object....Its Operation opposed by the Aristocratic Cantons only....Feeble Attempts at Insurrection....Final result of the Introduction of the new Constitution.

THE conquest, or rather the annexation of Switzerland to the French Republic, was an event, which this year, and, occasionally, ever since, has called forth the most severe animadversion from the pen of every advocate for the war. According to these political frogs, or croakers, Switzerland was an earthly paradise till the French stepped in, and like Satan in Eden, converted this garden into a desart, and its happy inhabitants into mourners and slaves. The Swiss government, also, according to these writers, was as pure and as perfect as the people were innocent; and as for Swiss liberty, it could scarcely be exceeded any where but in England! Such, however, have been the representations of hired writers, and the

makers up of newspapers. But to come at the real facts, as to the happiness of the Swiss people, and the purity of their government; we need not refer to any party-writer, who has either vindicated or accused them, since the French revolution took place. Those who have written previous to that event, cannot be suspected of partiality to the Swiss, nor of enmity to the French. Among these, *Coxe's Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Switzerland*, stands foremost, from the known respectability of the work and the author. As to the Swiss government, Mr. Coxe, though he praises the excellent state of the prisons in that country, &c. observes, "One cannot but be astonished, as well as concerned, to find, that in a country where the true principles of civil government are so well understood, and so generally adopted, that the trial by *torture*, is not yet abolished; for in some particular cases, the *suspected* criminal is still put to the rack." "I cannot," says he, "however, but add, in justice to the Swiss, that zealous advocates have not been wanting among them for the total abolition of torture: but arguments of reason, and sentiments of humanity, have been found, even in this civilized and enlightened country, to avail little against inveterate custom, and long confirmed prejudices."

As to the formation of the Swiss government, in some cantons, it was merely the effect of *chance!* that is to say, in Basil, the acting men draw tickets out of a bag, to enable them to fill up vacant posts in the government. In fact, Mr. Coxe observes, "It has not unfrequently happened, that a candidate, whose knowledge and abilities rendered him capable of being serviceable to the state, has never had the good luck to obtain the successful ticket; while fortune has bestowed it upon another, by no means qualified to fulfil the duties of the employment." But, not only the Counsellors of State, but even the Professors in the University, are elected in the same manner. Hence, nothing is more common than to solicit for the professor-

ship of a science, which the party has never made the peculiar object of his studies: however, afterwards, the unqualified professors may change places with each other, and thus set all right again.

It is also an observation of this intelligent writer, "That a very narrow spirit of policy reigns throughout most of the states in Switzerland, as they seldom or never make a new citizen. At Zurich, he was informed, that it was an hundred and fifty years since they had admitted one." In fact, the French writers have observed, that the government in Switzerland, had long been seized by, and confined to certain families, to the exclusion of the other citizens.' As to Swiss-liberty, of which the political croakers complain, these people have been deprived, by their connection with the French, it is a mere chimera; the Swiss were more strictly the vassals of France before the Revolution than since. All the Catholic cantons in particular, used to receive considerable subsidies from France, as enlisting money for their people. Mr. Coxe observed, in 1778, "That every burgher of the age of fourteen, in the two cantons of Uri and Underwalden, receives about six livres, five shillings of our money, annually; the landamman, and magistrates, more in proportion. The canton of Schweitz has had, for some time, a quarrel with France, and, accordingly, withdrew its troops from that service; but, this year, the matter has been accommodated, and the (French) king pays every male child of a burgher, four livres annually, reckoning from the time of his birth." This wretched instance of venal slavery, forced the writer, to observe, that he could not help thinking that the acceptance of these subsidies were derogatory to that spirit of independence which the Swiss cantons professed, and "that it would be far more honourable to enter into an alliance with France, upon terms of perfect equality than to receive paltry subsidies, &c." Now this is as nearly as possible what has actually taken place, as will, probably,

appear from the measures pursued by the First Consul of France.

It may be necessary to promise, that from the local and relative situation of Switzerland, it was impossible for her to preserve her neutrality in such a contest as that had been between Austria and France. In fact, she had forfeited it to the former, almost at the very commencement of the war, when she suffered her territory to be violated by the Austrians, to the prejudice of the French, without even protesting against the measure; when the Swiss government of one of the cantons broke a commandant, only for firing a salute in honour of General Buonaparté, as he passed through the town as an individual, on his return from Italy; and from the countenance and support afforded to the French Royalists, who had fixed themselves in Switzerland, the better to carry on their intrigues against the new French government.

Under all these considerations, it could not be supposed that a general, so consummate as Buonaparté, could suffer Switzerland to become allied to his enemy at that, or any future period. It was now thought a proper time for introducing the new Constitution which had been prepared for the Swiss. In Buonaparté's Expose it was noticed, that Switzerland had repeatedly applied to him for his protection, and even previous to his departure from Paris, this year, we find the following Letter was delivered from the First Consul, to Citizen Reding, Chief Magistrate of Switzerland.

"Paris, January 6.

"CITIZEN REDING,

"Two years ago, your countrymen consulted the First Consul with regard to their affairs. He spoke to them as the First Magistrate of the Gauls would have done in those times, when Helvetia formed a part of Gaul. The counsels which he had given them, might have conducted them to prosperity, and saved them two years of troubles. You appear animated by a desire for the welfare of your country; let your countrymen second you, and Helvetia will at length be re-established among the powers of Europe. Circum-

stances of war, have led the French armies into your territories. The desire of liberty has armed your people, and especially those of the country, against privileges. Events of an opposite nature have succeeded: in the course of a few years you have undergone great misfortunes. A great result awaits you; the equality and liberty of your fellow-citizens. At this day, whether a Swiss is born at the borders of the Leman or the Aar, he is equally free. That is the only distinct article in your present political situation. The basis of the public law of Europe, at this moment, is, to maintain, in each country, the existing order. If all the powers have adopted this principle, it is, because all have need of peace, and the return of diplomatic and commercial relations. The French people, therefore, ought, as far as in them lies, to maintain your country in its existing states. True, indeed, you are without organization, without government, without a national will: wherefore, will not your countrymen make one effort! Let them call forth the patriotic virtues of their fathers: let them sacrifice the spirit of system, of faction, to the love of the welfare and liberty of their country: you will then no longer fear to be governed by the residue of a temporary faction; you will have a government, because it will be supported by public opinion, and founded on the will of the nation. All Europe will renew its relations with you. France will not stop to consider her personal interests; she will make all the sacrifices which may tend to secure your Constitution, the liberty and equality of your fellow-citizens. She will continue to shew every mark of parental kindness for you, who, after a lapse of so many ages, form the connection of two independent divisions of the same people."

The Constitution designed for the Swiss, did not, by any means, please them; though its enemies allow that it was generally accepted in the greater cantons. But in the Valais, or Pays de Vaud, the symptoms of disaffection were first publicly manifested, though the presence of a French army soon quelled the malcontents. In the three cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwalden, the opposition was most violent: they, with Appenzel, openly declared themselves in a state of insurrection. A considerable part of the summer was passed in threats and recri-

minations between the French party in Switzerland, called the New Government, and the refractory cantons. The latter, called the Patriots, though in reality the partizans of the old aristocracy; they, notwithstanding the inferiority of their force, appointed commanders, formed magazines, and prepared to take the field. General Andermatt, and the Commissary-general, Keller, were dispatched against them: but, without waiting for the attack, or the 27th of August, the Insurgents advanced, and carried the post of Rany, occupied by a company of carabineers; the captain of which, and about 30 men were killed. On the 7th of September, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, only to be broken by three days notice. In the meantime, the cantons of Glaris, the two districts of Baden, and a part of the Grisons, openly joined the confederacy—that of Zug, manifested the same spirit; and the French General, Andermatt, was compelled to send several companies of troops of the line, to take possession of Zurich; the inhabitants refused to admit them. The unexpected arrival of this force, produced great agitation among the inhabitants; they collected very tumultuously; and, as the effervescence seemed to be carried to a very high degree, the Municipality, not choosing to take upon themselves all the responsibility, thought proper to call to their assistance six persons of the greatest influence in the town. After due deliberation, it was resolved to guard against all surprise by refusing admission to the troops. The Municipality of Zurich wrote to the Helvetic commandant, that the citizens would guard their own walls, and wished to see no more foreign troops among them: that, notwithstanding, he would be permitted to enter, on condition that his soldiers should be lodged in barracks, guarded by the citizens. Immediately afterwards, Citizens Veiss and Schintz, left Zurich to have an explanation with the central Government. That took place on the 7th of September. General Andermatt, informed of these movements, left

Lucerne on the 12th, with all the troops and artillery in the place. He arrived at night, before Zurich; and, at half past two in the morning, caused the town to be summoned, by the sound of trumpet, to open its gates The commandant of Zurich, replied, that he would send his request to the Municipality, and would wait their orders; upon which General Andermatt began to bombard the town with shells; he fired 160, besides some four and six-pound balls: but his ammunition was soon expended, and he had no more than 2,000 men. He offered, at nine o'clock, to suspend hostilities, provided a part of the town was put into his hands, until he could receive ulterior orders from his Government. In effect, an armistice was agreed upon, till the 18th, at six o'clock in the evening; but the citizens, enraged at the attack made upon them, and encouraged by the bad success of the morning attack, there were none killed or wounded, and the fire occasioned by the shells was soon extinguished, refused all other arrangement. Their friends from the country were arriving, every hour, to the succour of Zurich; particularly old General Steiner, who, at 80 years of age, entered the city, at the head of 300 men, well armed.

In the meanwhile, the cantons of Baden and Argovia, rose in a mass, and took Brugg, and Lensbourg. Aloys Reding, who had taken part against the French, from the first invasion of the country, was declared their chief; and though Zurich was obliged to capitulate to General Andermatt, Fribourg re-constituted itself, and Berne was obliged to capitulate, in turn, to the Swiss party, on the 18th of September, after an obstinate action under the walls. The Swiss Insurgents were commanded by Messrs. Watteville, D'Erlach, and Effinguer, and consisted of the peasantry of Argovia, Soleure, and Oberland. The Swiss troops, on the French side, fired from the ramparts of Berne, upon these peasants, who threw some shot into the place, which, however, only damaged the town-house. At length, after a severe combat, the French party were

obliged to capitulate; a suspension of arms was also agreed upon, which included General Andermatt, and the troops under him. M. de Watteville, the Swiss commandant, was named Commander-in-Chief, and waited on the French Minister, Verninac, who, it is said, gave him a most obliging reception.

About the same time, the city of Arau, surrendered to the forces under D'Erlach; as did Soleure, likewise, to a party of Argovians, without firing a gun; and Andermatt, who had been abruptly recalled from Zurich, before the capitulation of Berne, and left that city in possession of his heavy artillery, being, it is said, closely pursued by Aloys Reding, must have been taken or destroyed, had he not been included in that capitulation.

The Swiss Insurgents, on the other hand, were no sooner established at Berne, than they began to assume the reins of Government. They issued a proclamation, in which they gave each of the cantons leave to choose and regulate their local governments, and recommended a liberal and rational plan for regulating and ensuring Helvetic independence.

But while this new Swiss Government were settling themselves at Berne, it should be observed, that the members of the old one, established by the partisans of France, were at Lausanne, to which place they had been followed by the Spanish, and other ministers, at peace with France. In the meanwhile, as neither of the parties were conquered, but both seemed to act as if they meant to gain time; a Proclamation appeared, which operated like a thunder-clap upon the new Swiss Government, as it put an end to all the hopes they had indulged of any new modifications in their favour.

BUONAPARTE, First Consul of the FRENCH REPUBLIC, President of the ITALIAN REPUBLIC, to the Eighteen Cantons of the HELVETIC REPUBLIC.

"St. Cloud, September 30.

"Inhabitants of Helvetia, you have afforded, for two years, an afflicting spectacle. Opposite factions have, successively, taken pos-

session of the sovereign authority; they have signalised their temporary rule by a system of partiality, which proved their unskilfulness and weakness. In the course of the year 10, your Government desired that the small number of French troops in Helvetia, should be withdrawn. The French Government willingly availed themselves of that opportunity, to honour your independence; but, soon afterwards, your different parties began to be agitated by fresh fury: the blood of the Swiss was shed by the hands of Swiss. You have been disputing for three years, without coming to any understanding; if you are left to yourselves, you will be killing each other for three years longer, without coming to a better understanding. Besides, your history proves that your intestine wars could never be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France. It is true, that I had determined not to interfere at all in your affairs; I had constantly seen your different governments ask advice of me, and not follow it, and sometimes abuse my name, according to their interests and their passions. But I neither can, nor ought, to remain insensible to the misery of which you are the victims. I recall my determination, I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak. Five days after the notification of the present Proclamation, the Senate shall assemble at Berne. Every magistracy that shall have been formed at Berne, since the capitulation, shall be dissolved, and shall cease meeting and exercising any authority. The Prefects shall repair to their posts. All the authorities which may have been formed, shall cease meeting. Armed assemblages shall disperse; the 1st and 2nd Helvetic demi-brigades shall compose the garrison of Berne: the troops, who have been on service for upwards of six months, shall alone remain in corps of troops. Finally, all individuals disbanded from the Belligerent armies, and who are now in arms, shall deposit their arms at the municipality of the commune where they were born. The Senate shall send three deputies to Paris; each canton may also send deputies. All citizens, who, for the last three years, have been Landammans, or Senators, and have successively occupied places in the Central Authority, may repair to Paris, to make known the means of restoring union and tranquillity, and conciliating all parties. On my part, I have a right to expect, that no city, no commune, no corps, will do any thing contrary to the dispositions which I make known to you. Inhabitants of Helvetia, awake to hope! Your country is on the brink of a precipice; it shall be immediately drawn from it: all men of good intentions will second this generous plan. But if, which I cannot believe, there be among you a great number of individuals who should have so little virtue as not to sacrifice their

passions and their prejudices to the love of their country; people of Helvetia, you will have indeed degenerated from your forefathers! There is no sensible man who does not see, that the mediation which I take upon myself is a benefit to Helvetia, from that Providence, which, in the midst of so many shocks and concussions, has always watched over the existence and independence of your nation; and that this mediation is the only means of saving both. For, indeed, it is time you should see, that, if the patriotism and union of your ancestors founded your Republic, the bad spirit of your factions, if it continue, will infallibly destroy it. Painful would it be to think, that, at a period when several new Republics have arisen, destiny had marked out the termination and fall of one of the most ancient.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE.

"By the First Consul, H. B. MARET.

However, on Sunday morning, the 3rd of October, hostilities were renewed between the Swiss and the French party, along the whole line; and in every point the Swiss were successful. The main attack was made on the Helvetic troops, covering Lausanne. The Helvetic Government was preparing to fly from Lausanne to Geneva, when, on the 4th, Citizen Rapp, the Chief Consul's aid-de-camp, arrived with the Proclamation. This gave the Helvetic Government courage to remain in Lausanne; and Citizen Rapp proceeded to lay his Proclamation before the Swiss Committee at Berne. They returned for answer, that they had referred it to the Swiss Diet, sitting at Schwitz, which had the charge of all important state matters. On the 6th the Commander of the Swiss troops, and another officer, found it necessary to come to Lausanne with a flag of truce, to propose an armistice between the Swiss and Helvetic troops, till the Diet at Schwitz should come to some resolution respecting Buonaparté's Proclamation.

On the 8th, the Diet returned the following answer:

THE HELVETIC DIET

To CITIZEN BUONAPARTE, First Consul of the FRENCH REPUBLIC.

"Citizen First Consul, the Proclamation which you did us the honour to send to us on the 30th of September, by Citizen Rapp, your Adjutant-general, arrived at Schwitz on the 6th of October.

We could have wished, that the Letter we took the liberty of sending you, General First Consul, on the 30th of September, could have reached you sooner; it contains a faithful exposition of the present state of Switzerland. Permit us to send you, inclosed, a duplicate of it, and to entreat you to receive it favourably. It will prove to you, that the movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not the result of a spirit of party; and that the Swiss Nation has no other object in view, than to make use of the right which she claims, of giving herself a central and cantonal Constitution, founded on her position, and her wants; a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to ensure her by the Treaty of Luneville. Switzerland would, long since, have been tranquil, if the members of the Helvetic Government, those obscure metaphysicians, had consulted the real state of affairs, instead of obstinately attaching themselves to theoretic attempts, as erroneous as they are expensive. The violence with which they have tried to impose their system upon the democratic cantons, the civil war they have organized, to attain their end, directed at first against those cantons, then against all Switzerland; the unexampled severity with which they have done it, have produced a discontent equally general and just, and a determined and avowed will to shake off this insupportable yoke. It is not then, General First Consul, an affair of party, it is the sacred cause of humanity; it is the general wish of a whole nation, which has given us our power and our instructions; of a nation which you yourself wished to free, and which has been ill-treated and irritated, contrary to your intentions. Yet of that nation, we render ourselves guarantees, and will never abuse the liberty it claims. The Swiss have nothing more at heart than to attain a state of repose, in which, under the shield of a mild and just Government, each inhabitant may enjoy his property and his existence. We are convinced, that we shall arrive at that essential object of all social order, from the moment our will and our efforts shall be no longer fettered. General First Consul, all Europe admires in you the Supreme Head of an immense Power and Empire; which, whithout doubt, according to your own views, will be directed to the good of humanity. Your magnanimity assures us, that you will not make use of it against a people, who only desire what you have made them hope, and who only wish what they believe themselves authorised to do by yourself. Penetrated with eternal gratitude, the Swiss Nation will do its endeavour to deserve the good-will of the French Government, and will fulfil all the duties which are imposed upon it, by the desire of cultivating good neighbourhood. It is with the most distinguished respect that we remain, General First Consul,

"The DEPUTIES of the Helvetic Diet."

"Schwitz, October 8th."

This, it has been observed, was the expiring effort of Helvetic freedom: as, after this, all resistance to the arms of France were deemed unavailing; probably the First Consul's terms were found to be easier than they were expected to have been. The remaining troops of the Swiss Insurgents were disbanded; and on the 17th of October the Senate resumed the possession of Berne. In vain had the Patriots, or, as they should have been termed, the old Aristocrats of Switzerland, appealed to the powers of Europe. The Court of Vienna dreaded Buonaparté so much that they would not hold any correspondence with them. England, though at peace with France, sent an agent, in the person of a Mr. Moore, to negotiate with the Insurgents, but he arrived too late. On the 28th of October, the Diet of the Insurgents, held at Schwitz, thought proper to dissolve itself; and, as prevention was better than cure, the French Government took care to have a force in and near Switzerland, sufficient to overawe any new movements. To finish the business, deputies from the cantons were ordered to proceed to Paris, to decide upon the points at issue. Still, the necessity for keeping a watchful eye over the Swiss, who, upon the whole, could not expect to be treated much better than a conquered country, appeared from this single circumstance, that the Aristocratic Diet held at Schwitz, previous to their dissolving themselves, entered into a solemn protest against any measures whatever which should be adopted by the Swiss Consulta at Paris.

After this, the Gallo-Helvetic Government addressed a Proclamation to the people of Switzerland, telling them that they have deserved their suffering. "The French troops have penetrated into all your cantons; deprived you of the arms which you turned against your Government, and have thus declared to Europe, that you are at once incapable of remaining at peace, and unworthy of keeping them yourselves!" Proceeding in the same

strain, they ask to whom are the cantons indebted for the return of the French troops? They answer, not to the Senate, but to the Diet of Schwitz. But the most important part of this Proclamation, is the assertion, that it is now, more than ever, the interest of Switzerland, "to follow the political system of France." *Marcher dans le systeme politique de la France.* The Proclamation concludes, with telling the people drily, that they will be required, to defray the expenses of the French Troops, "whom their ill-conduct has brought into the country."

Aloys Reding, and General Auf-der-Maur, together with the brother of the former, and several others of the Swiss patriots, were brought prisoners to Zurich, and conveyed before General Serras. They were sent to the castle of Challon, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, till farther orders. The Senate of Berne, as might be expected declared, that Buonaparté would give them a Constitution which shall ensure tranquility, and that they will gratefully accept it.

Such were the results of the last attempts of the oligarchy in Switzerland to regain their lost influence; but, though they failed, it cannot yet be said, that Switzerland is equally as dependent upon France, as Wales upon England. The torture is, no doubt, no longer in practice among them; nor may we hear any more of the usual bloody contentions between the Catholic and Protestant cantons, on the score of religion. France allows of no persecution. Trade, but no monoply, will be encouraged in Switzerland, because the French Government has no need of the ill gotten wealth of the monopolizer. France, able to protect herself; and, politically speaking, almost omnipotent, will never be that drain upon the youth of Switzerland as when their blood was sold by the antient Government, to almost every petty despot, whose perpetual jars kept this infamous market, as it were, continually open: at any rate, no power inimical to France can now injure Switzerland with impunity, as

might have been the case without such an ally or master. Switzerland, now have nothing to fear from the enmity of France, will partake of all her glory and good fortune without risk, and without the reproach justly applied to the ancient Swiss Government for its "mercenary spirit, uncontrouled by considerations of justice or humanity, to traffic with the blood of their subjects, and let them out for paltry subsidies, to fight the battles of any king in any cause." Of course, the present situation of Switzerland is incomparably improved in consequence of its recent connexions with the French Government.

The decisive settlement of the new Constitution of Switzerland was reserved till the deputies from the cantons should have arrived at Paris. In consequence of this determination, on the 10th of December, they were requested to assemble at the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs: they met accordingly, and Barthelemy, one of the Senators of the Commission, with Roux, and Rocderer, its Secretaries, there communicated to them a Letter from the First Consul, dated St. Cloud, December 10, and addressed to the Deputies, from the Eighteen Cantons of Helvetia, the substance of which was as follows: "The present critical situation of Helvetia demands from all parties an entire sacrifice of their factions and selfish passions. The First Consul will fulfil his engagements, and restore tranquillity to Switzerland. He expects the Deputies to aid his intentions. Switzerland is a country distinguished from all others, by the peculiarity of its local circumstances. It is formed for a Federative Republic by the very hand of nature. Circumstances had there established sovereign states, among others that were dependent; other circumstances have introduced a general equality of right. There are in Switzerland both pure democracies and oligarchies, or governments engrossed by particular families; both cannot continue to subsist together. The three principles, on which

alone tranquillity can be re-established; are these: a general equality of rights among all the Eighteen Cantons; an entire renunciation of all aristocratic family rights; a federative conformation in respect to each particular canton. After the cantons shall have been constituted the course of the central government will be easy. The revenue, the military force, the political administration, will be different in different cantons. Switzerland has not, hitherto, had a standing army, nor ambassadors, in ordinary, to foreign powers. Commerce, and a government of small expenditure, are the two things of the chief importance to the country. The French and Italian Republics cannot agree to the institution of a government in Switzerland that might become, directly or indirectly, hostile to their interests. The Insurgents have acted under the influence of the enemies of France; they have insulted the French nation; they have declared themselves against an equality of rights. No party, and least of all, that of the Insurgents, is to triumph in Switzerland. It is the duty of the French Government to take care that there shall not be formed, on that open frontier of the French Republic, a system hostile to it. A government must be established in Helvetia such as in its spirit may be always friendly to France. The First Consul will take into due consideration whatever plans shall be communicated to him from the Deputies, whether individually or collectively."

If we may judge by the time that was occupied before the new Constitution was finally adjusted, it would seem that it did not pass without some consideration, if not objection, on the part of the Deputies; for it was not till the 23d of the February following the arrival of the Swiss Deputies at Paris, that the Supplement of the Moniteur was nearly filled, with what was called, by the French Government, *The Act of Mediation on the part of the First Consul of the French Republic between the parties which divide Switzerland.*

The introduction is in every respect plausible, and, in most of the particulars specified, strictly true. The interference of France seems to be particularly imputed to the solicitation of the *Democratic cantons;* and, it is added, that the general wish of the Helvetic people rendered it necessary for Buonaparté to interpose his mediation between the parties that divided that country. The present act, it was added, the result of long conferences between well intentioned men, and friends to order, has appeared to us to contain the most proper dispositions to ensure to the Swiss both peace and prosperity ; and, as soon as these dispositions shall be carried into execution the French troops shall quit Switzerland.

"We acknowledge Helvetia, constituted as follows, to be an independent power. We guarantee the federal Constitution and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, be they who they may; and we promise to keep the relation of a mity, which for several ages, have united both nations."

Then follow the particular Constitutions of the Eighteen Cantons, which are divided into three classes; democratic, aristocratic, and the new cantons.

The Eighteen Swiss Cantons are confederated agreeably to the principles established in their respective constitutions: they mutually guarantee their constitutions, their territory, their liberty, and their independence both against foreign powers and the usurpation of an individual canton or faction. The quota of troops and money to be supplied by each canton here follows:

"The Diet to meet alternately, and from year to year, at Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne.

Citizen Louis D'Affry is Landamman for Switzerland for the current year:

"He is to have the charge of all diplomatic negotiations; he is to watch over all the laws and ordinan-

ces of the Diet, and of those of the particular constitutions.

"The Diet is to be composed of a Deputy from each canton, who is to have full powers, with instructions, by which he is strictly bound. The Deputies from the cantons have thirty-five voices. The Diet is to assemble every year, on the 1st of June: it is to continue its sittings but one month: in that time it may conclude treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce, with foreign powers.

"Given at Paris."

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE, &c. &c."

It was remarkable, that it was the aristocratic cantons only that manifested any dislike to this new Constitution. However, their attempts to excite an insurrection among the Helvetic troops at Berne being feeble and unsupported, ended in their own discomfiture. Even some of our journalists, prostituted to the war faction at that period, owned "that nothing but the presence of the French troops could prevent the aristocratic cantons from breaking out into acts of direct hostility against the Constituted Authorities in Switzerland:" a concession this inimical to the object these writers had in view, of calumniating the First Consul: because, as they thus made it appear that the *democratic* Cantons were glad of his interference; it is but fair to conclude, that by introducing "an equality of rights," he most effectually delivered the best part of Switzerland from a set of oligarchs and petty tyrants.

The final result of the introduction of the new Constitution was, that the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France. On this occasion the Landamman issued a Proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the First Consul, whose paternal care would make them forget all they had suf-

fered. An address of thanks to Buonaparté was also voted by the Diet, on the specific ground, "That he had restored to them their ancient Constitution, the only one adapted to the wants, or consistent with the wishes of the people;" and which, as it met with no opposition, but from the influence of the oligarchs in the aristocratic Cantons, in being admitted as a positive truth, must, at the same time, be acknowledged a most essential benefit to Switzerland in particular, and to Europe in general.

THE END OF CHAP. II.

CHAPTER III.

On the Circumstances which led to a renewal of the War ....English Ships excluded from and detained in French Ports....Objections to this Conduct of the French answered ....Hostile Spirit of English Newspapers subsequent to the Peace of Amiens....Of French Papers, conducted in London by French Emigrants....Buonaparté confines his Complaints to the latter....These Complaints unattended to....Prosecution of M. Peltier....The English Ministry resolve to retain the Cape of Good Hope....Colonel Sebastiani's famous Mission to Egypt, Syria, &c....Fortunate Arrival, at the Moment the English were evacuating the Cape of Good Hope, by which the Forts were re-possessed, and the English Troops relanded....Offensive Partiality of the English to the French Princes and Emigrants in London....Complaints of M. Otto....Probable Reason why they were not regarded.

BEFORE we enter upon the renewal of the War, after a peace which had lasted only one year and about sixteen days, it may be necessary to take a review of some circumstances, that were urged, by both parties as aggravations, which, eventually, led to an open rupture. In the first place, complaints had arisen about the exclusion of our shipping from French ports, and the detention of others, almost ever since the Preliminaries were signed. The fact was this: that the French in detaining these vessels, upon the charge of bringing contraband wares, acted according to an existing law, promulgated in the time of Robespierre: to this law we objected, as being made under the worst period of the French Government; a very futile objection; because, from a parity of reasoning the French might object against our Navigation Act, which has secured to us what is called the sovereignty of

the seas; and, precisely, because this was passed by Oliver Cromwell's parliament, the worst period of the English Government. Upon the whole, the Treaty of Amiens not having provided any remedy against this indisposition of the French to trade with us; the framers of the Treaty had only to thank themselves for the inconveniencies to which the country was afterwards exposed.

But a spirit of hostility, not less acrimonious and implacable, was cherished in this country, almost from the moment the peace was signed till the renewal of the rupture. Both the public papers, and many public men, under whose influence these papers were conducted, openly condemned the peace, and the makers of it, from the first; and, afterwards, proceeded to indulge the habit of constantly abusing the First Consul, personally, and, very frequently, in terms, the rancour of which were only equalled by their coarseness and malignity. Among these, a French paper, The *Courier de Londres*, published in London twice a week, and known to be conducted by French Emigrants, was that which gave the First Consul the greatest offence: because, as it was well known that this paper, in particular, was circulated in La Vendée, and other French provinces, there was not the least doubt of the designs of the writers to stir up a rebellion against the Consular Government in favour of the old monarchy. To all the remonstrances of Buonaparté, relative to these abuses, the reply of Government was, in substance, that they could not interfere with the liberty of the press in respect to the newspapers. But though such a reply was a tacit acknowledgment of an abuse, and the unwillingness or incapacity of the English Government to redress it, Buonaparté, waving the complaint against the *English papers*, urged it, afterwards, only against those printed by *French* Emigrants in this country. He observed in effect, "If your laws prevent you from proceeding against the printers of *English* newspapers, they need not prevent your interference with respect to *Frenchmen*. You have

an Alien Act, by which you have sent numbers of French away; send these men also out of the country, and I shall be satisfied." Still, no notice was taken of this newspaper war; till M. Peltier, another French Emigrant, published a paper, so barefacedly an attempt to stir up some assassin to murder the First Consul, whom we had acknowledged as such, that, to save appearances, a prosecution was instituted against Peltier, by the King's Solicitor-general, and he was tried by Lord Ellenborough, and cast in the Court of King's Bench, on the 21st of February, 1803. But what was the consequence? Mr. Peltier, as well as others, restrained his pen for a short period, and then the rupture occurring between the two nations, they became as virulent and as vulgar as before. For as the King's Message was delivered to Parliament on the 8th day of March following February the 21st, and judgment not being called for by the Attorney-general, at the usual time, all further proceedings against M. Peltier ceased, of course, and he escaped any punishment whatever; very different from the fate of Lord George Gordon, and Mr. John Vint, the first of whom died in prison; after having been cast for a libel on the Queen of France; the latter was also imprisoned for a lible on the Empress of Russia.

The English Government, on their part, had been by no means behind hand, in preparing for a new war many months before it actually broke out; for so early as October and November 1802, orders had been sent out to retain the Cape of Good Hope, and the West India islands, not then given up; and, as for Malta, as we shall see hereafter, it is doubtful whether the British ministers ever intended to restore that, after they found the French would not suffer themselves to be fettered by any new treaty of commerce. The known partiality of the First Consul for Egypt, and the consideration that Malta was a kind of halfway-house, as it has been called, at length induced the British Government to hazard every thing

for that one object, not excepting the honour and credit of the nation.

It must be allowed, that, even during the peace, the French had been extremely active in the East, particularly in the Greek Islands and the Morea. As for Malta, our refusal to give it up, had been the cause of murmurs at Paris the best part of the summer of 1802. On the 21st of July Buonaparté told Lord Whitworth, that the question of peace or war depended upon Malta; so that it may be doubted whether Colonel Sebastiani's famous mission to Egypt, &c. was determined upon, before the French Government was fully apprized of our intentions to keep Malta; for it was not till the 10th of December that Lord Hawkesbury's agent wrote to him from Corfu; stating, that the Cornelie French frigate, having on board Colonel Horatio Sebastiani, had arrived there, charged with a public mission on the part of the French Republic; that he had landed, and called a meeting of the Three Orders, at the house of the Delegate; that he harangued them, and that his speech was followed by a tumultuous cry of Liberty and Equality. This agent accuses Sebastiani of using violent language; however, the following Address to his excellency the Delegate of Zante, for its moderation, and judicious sentiments upon politics, deserves to be recorded:

"Sir,

"The First Consul, Buonaparté, has charged me to visit these islands which compose your Republic, and to assure the inhabitants that he takes a lively interest in their prosperity. I know that the difference of political opinions divides this rising Republic into various parties, and, that, without the wise measures taken by your Government, its tranquility will be destroyed. I could wish to make known to your administration, and fellow-citizens, how much the First Consul wishes to see a stop put to those intestine divisions which afflict these islands.

"Your political independency has been guaranteed by France, Russia, and the Sublime Porte. These powerful nations, united together by the bonds of the truest friendship, are occupied, in concert with your most enlightened and most virtuous fellow-citizens, to give you a form of government suitable to your situation, and the genius of your inhabitants. Wait with confidence and moderation, the result of these important operations, and be assured that you will see the end of your ills, and the beginning of your prosperity. All exaggerations of political opinions are inimical to the general prosperity; absolute democracy, always tempestuous, sacrifices to vain chimeras the security, the property, civil liberty, and, in short, all that constitutes the happiness of a state: aristocracy, which is not moderated, is always tyrannical: and the elevation of a small number of families is preferred to talents and to virtue. In order that a government may be prosperous, it is necessary that it should have in its formation a happy combination of the advantages of different forms of government; the power and promptitude of monarchy, the vigilance and intelligence of aristocracy, and the vigour and elevation of democracy; that the citizens may find the security enjoyed under the first, the tranquility of the second, and the equality of the rights, fixed by the laws, which are found in the third.

"Recollect, that the man who forms a part of society, only preserves the liberty of doing that which is not prejudical to the rights of others; and that equality only consists in the exact execution of the laws, and in the protection which they afford to every member of the political body. As the quarantine prevents communication, I beg you will communicate this my Letter to all the authorities, and also to the principal inhabitants.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the sentiments of esteem and consideration which I entertain for your person."

M. Romieu, the French Commissary-general, and *charge d'Affaires* to the Seven Islands, also wrote as follows, to the Vicar-general of the churches at Corfu:

"Mr. Vicar General,

"I hasten to inform you, with the greatest joy, that I have just received the express orders of my government to place the church of the Roman religion in the Republic of the Seven Islands, under its special protection. I make this communication to the President of the Senate. This proof of the good-will of the French towards this church will be a powerful motive, Mr. Vicar General, for addressing, through the faithful in your communion, the most ardent vows to heaven for the prosperity of the lives of its Consuls, in the same way as the Roman churches practise in the French Republic.

"With the most distinguished consideration, Mr. Vicar General, I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed) "A ROMIEU."

Respecting the report of Colonel Sebastiani, after he had visited Syria and Egypt, it is of too much importance to be passed over.—It embraces such a variety, and describes scenes so very different from European manners, that if it was not well authenticated, and corroborated by circumstances, its assertions might well be called in question. The following is an extract of the principal parts.

"On the 16th of September last I embarked at Toulon, on board the Corneliе, and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. On the 1st of October I was presented, with much pomp to the Pacha, who received me in the most distinguished manner. The exchange of the ratification of the Treaty took place, and the Italian Republic was formally acknowledged. I caused its flag to be hoisted on the Commissarial House of France, and it was saluted by the frigate, and the palace, with 21 guns. It was not without difficulty that the Pacha consented to acknowledge that

Republic. He feared that all Italy was comprised in this new Republic; and that, in consequence, he would be obliged to respect, indiscriminately all the ships of commerce of that part of Europe: this would destroy his marine. I gave him the necessary explanations, and particularly, those which related to the object of his apprehensions; and he replied to me, 'Certainly, I wish to be at peace with the Italian Republic, without too much injuring my interest; but, if it were still more difficult, I would do it, since the great Buonaparté desires it.' The Pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterprising man, the friend of France. The political and administrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, minister of the Pacha. This man is full of sagacity, and has even some notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preserves for our country a predominant sentiment of affection. On the 2d of October I set out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the same day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by land and sea. I communicated to him the order of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria; and, if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the Treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but, seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart is a man of middling talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, but an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General. I went, the same day, to see Khourchid-Abmid, the Pacha of Alexandria, and the Captin Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the

customary compliments, and some language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them that the agents of French commerce whould assemble in Egypt: this communication gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in the country. I told them, that their stay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I visited the cheik El Messiry; the same day I also visited the cheik Ibrahim Mufti. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals, who came to visit me. On the 20th I set out for Cairo, escorted by two Turkish officers and six French soldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate."

The Colonel visited all the Turkish chiefs, the Cheiks, &c. at Grand Cairo, and other places; and, lastly, Madam Murad Bey. But, though he had made peace between the Swedes and the Dey of Tripoli upon his first arrival there, he found that to make peace between the Beys in Egypt and the Turkish chiefs was not so easy a task; for the Turkish Government, though their forces had been beaten in five successive battles, had ordered its troops to carry on a war of extermination.

"On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a soldier menaced me with his attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city testified highly their indignation against him, I did not stop at his menaces, and continued my route. A moment afterwards Mustapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, passed before me, on horseback; in passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and, upon return, I sent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress: I declared to him, that I expected this man would come publicly to me, to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal and implore my pity.

He found that Mustapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted, by declaring, formally, to the Pacha, that, if this reparation was not made in the manner I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Constantinople to state my complaint: this produced all the effect I expected; and Mustapha, alarmed, came, on the following day, to me, conducted by Rosetti, and he, publicy, asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitation of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if, in future, he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction was inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread throughout the whole city of Grand Cairo, produced the best effect. The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me: two letters, from Rosetta, written by English protegées, asserted, that there had been seen, upon the coasts of Narolia, a French fleet of three hundred sail; that we were marching against Constantinople; and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them and blind them to their danger. I made the merchant come to me who had received the letter; I made him give it me: I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falshood of it with my head. The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it: he even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day of the First Consul, when he commanded the army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern empire of

the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant, to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination by means of such an insinuation. The Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French. I received a deputation from the Monks of Mount Sinia, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their Superior to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul. The monks of the Propaganda, at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection, which they enjoyed before the war, performed a *Te Deum* for the prosperity of the First Consul; I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the Christians of Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the Christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks, who, during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them: he not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty.

"The 20th of November, in the morning, I dispatched Citizens Joubert and Legrange to Degezzar pacha, with a letter; in which I stated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood before the war, and that I was charged by the First Consul to confer with him on these objects: I begged of him to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned; Degezzar had received them coldly: he expressed his desire to see me personally, but was unwilling to write. Everybody advised me not to see him without an assurance, written by himself; but this he appeared unwilling to do: but, notwithstanding this cautionary advice, and

his obstinate refusal to write, I determined to repair, myself, immediately to Acre. I went to the house of the Commissary of the Seven Isles: very soon after, the drogoman of the Pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the Pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had on one side of him a pistol, with four barrels, a small air-gun, a sabre, and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is pre-ordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny. I answered, that I believed, as he did, in predestination: he continued to speak for some time on that subject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of simplicity, but that, at the same time, he wished to pass for a man of wit, as well as for a just man. He repeated several times, "It is said that Dgezzar is barbarous: this is false; he is but just and severe. Request of the First Consul not to send me, as commissary of commercial relations, a lame or a blind man; because such a person would be sure to say, that Dgezzar had made him so." Soon after he said, "I desire that the commissary you may send shall reside at Scide, as that is the most commercial part in my dominions: besides, it is not necessary he should reside here, where I shall be, myself, the French commissary, and shall take care that your countrymen be well received: I highly esteem the French. In stature Buonaparté is small, but he is, nevertheless, the greatest of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again." I made a few observations on the peace between France and the Porte; to which he answered: "Do you know why I have thus received and feel so much pleasure at seeing you? it is, because you come unauthorized by a firman, and without any orders from the Divan: I have the greatest contempt for its blind Vizier. They say that Dgezzar is a Bosnian, a man of straw, and cruel to excess;

but, nevertheless, I can stand the ordeal. I was once poor: my father had nothing to bequeath me but courage: I have achieved my own elevation by dint of exertion: this, however, does not make me proud; and Dgezzar, perhaps, will soon finish his career: not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed some of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of rising their arms, &c. which he really executed with surprising adroitness and agility) but because, most likely, God will have it so. The King of France, once so powerful, has perished! Nebuchadnezzar, the greatest of all kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly!" &c. He made several other observations in this strain, and, afterwards, spoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army: from the whole of his demeanour it could easily be seen, that he wished to be on good terms with the First Consul, and that he stifled his resentments.

"I recommended to the favourable attention of Dgezzar the Christians and the convents at Nazareth and Jerusalem; he assured me that he would treat them with much regard: I did not forget the Mutuales, and received the same assurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently observed to me, that his word was, with him, more sacred than treaties. Our conversation was interrupted for some moments by a kind of military music, which he performed in a very agreeable style. The palace of Dgezzar is built with much taste and elegance, but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are necessary. At the foot of the staircase, however, is situated a prison, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening: I saw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I observed twelve field-pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a sight more hideous or repulsive than that of the minister of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out: the Pacha had caused one of his eyes to be put out, and his nose and ears to

be cut off! I saw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the same state! On beholding the domestics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himself in the resorts of brigands ready to assassinate: this monster has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of seeing, while at Acre, the Procurateur of the Propaganda, as well as that of the Holy Land: of the former, and of the Commissary of the Seven Isles, I collected some information, concerning the present state of Syria and the fortifications of Acre, of which I had seen but a part; I was not suffered to visit them. The Procurateur assured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very useful: he hinted to me Dgezzar's earnest wishes to be on good terms with the First Consul: it is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French vessel which put into Acre shortly before my arrival. Dgezzar occupies all Palestine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been besieged nearly five months by a force of 9,000 men. The monks of the convent of Jaffa have withdrawn to Jerusalem. The 21st of November I quitted Acre; as the winds were unfavourable to a voyage to Jaffa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived on the 4th of December: I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French Commissary, escorted by the officers of health. I soon learned that the Isle and the Republic were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of the place was threatened. I assembled the members of the constituted authorities, and the principal persons of the town, at the house of the Governor, M. de Calishipode.—After having represented to them the interest which the First Consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait, without passion and in silence, the new constitution. These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all

of them exclaimed, "France for ever! Buonaparté for ever!" These cries were reiterated, on my going out, by more than four thousand men, who followed me to the door. The Governor and the Russian Commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned, by the French Commissary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were sent to prison, but that, on his solicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were set at liberty in the course of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the Governor brought there: I spoke to him strongly on the irregularity of his conduct: he was alarmed, and promised that he would look upon those who cried out, "Live the First Consul!" as good citizens, and should, in future, treat them as such. As he sent, in the course of the night, a courier to his government, and I had reason to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Republic, at Corfu, to inform him what had passed, and that I was setting off for Messina. I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French as soon as an opportunity shall offer itself."

Sebastiani concludes his Report with a very accurate detail of the English forces in Egypt, as well as those of the Turks.

It may be expected that this Report of Sebastiani's was looked upon in England as a species of hostility; as was also the circumstance of the French Government sending commercial agents, or residents, to Dublin, to London, and other places, and their orders to obtain a knowledge of the different soundings, &c. But the truth is, that neither party were satisfied with the peace; and, as war suited the British much better than what they deemed only an armistice, they had been, for some time, preparing to put an end to it by an open rupture. It was to this spirit of caution and weariness, that, notwithstanding the contrariety of the orders previously given for giving up and retaining the French West India islands

and the Cape of Good Hope, the latter, after all, was, very fortunately, saved; for such was the consciousness, on this side of the water, of the possibility of being charged with being the first to commit an actual breach of the peace, and thereby of incurring the odium of breaking the treaty in more instances than one, that those who spoke the language of Government could not help congratulating themselves, upon learning, that, at the moment the orders arrived for keeping possession of the Cape, the greater part of the English garrrison were embarked on board the ships, and a formal surrender of some of the forts had taken place to the Dutch government: with considerable adroitness, however, the English Commander-in-chief repossessed himself of the places given up, relanded his troops, and remained in possession of the settlement till the counter-orders arrived. However, Pondicherry, in the East; Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago, in the West Indies, were, for awhile, surrendered to and remained in the power of the French; as well as the Cape of Good Hope, which for a short time, also, remained under the power of the Batavian Government.

But among other subjects of displeasure on the part of the French Government, during this feverish year of peace, was the preference given and the partiality of the English to the French Princes, and a number of Royalists, who were pensioned and retained in this country. As at present, the dethroned monarch was still styled *King of France*, while the movements of the rest of the family in this country were watched, and reported with as much sedulity in the parasitical English prints, as if they had formed a part of the royal family of Great Britain. These proceedings were the objects of very serious complaint, through the medium of M. Otto, who expressed the wish of Buonaparté, that the French Princes should be sent to Warsaw, where the head of them then was; and that

Georges, the assassin, and several other English pensioners, should be sent to Canada. But if we should judge, by the result of this business, why the English ministry refused to comply with Buonaparté's request; it would appear, as if they had a presentiment that they should, afterwards, want both the Princes and the Emigrants (as it is clear they actually did) to employ them in fruitless attempts, upon the continent, to assassinate the Chief Consul and to overthrow his government. Having thus retraced the steps that led to this alarming crisis, we shall proceed to relate the result and termination of all further negotiation.

THE END OF CHAP. III.

CHAPTER IV.

Result of the Negotiations, in Consequence of the Retention of Malta by the English....Strong Language of the First Consul on this Occasion....A new Arrangement respecting that Island proposed by the English....All Hopes of an Accommodation terminated by the Appearance of his Britannic Majesty's Declaration....Reflections.

THE negotiations and the refusal of the English to give up Malta had now continued nearly a twelvemonth; when, in February, 1803, the First Consul declared, to Lord Whitworth, that he would rather see the English in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than they should remain in that of Malta; and that its detention would be considered as a commencement of hostilities. In reply to this demand, England assured the French Government, that the difficulties respecting the guaranty had made it necessary for some fresh arrangement relative to that island; a communication for which purpose had been prepared, and should have been made, had not the publication of Colonel Sebastiani's Report, in which he informed the First Consul, that six thousand French were sufficient to take possession of all Egypt, imposed the necessity of demanding satisfactory explanation on that head, &c. It would be unnecessary to go into all the detail of the negotiation respecting that island, and the proposal of the English to keep it only during ten years —the taking of the island of Lampedosa in its room; and the *substantial security* demanded by England "for objects which might be materially endangered by the removal of the troops from thence." Such were the conditions expressed by the English Government in the latter end of February: however, the King's Declaration, communicated to Parliament, on the 8th of March, at

once dissolved every doubt on the subject, and put an end both to discussion and delusion. This Document recapitulates various heads of complaint, and embraces so many objects, that it will be necessary to give it entire and at length.

DECLARATION.

" His Majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his Parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion, when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions has been endangered.

" During the whole course of the negotiations, which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic, it was his Majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The same motives by which his Majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace have, since, invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the Treaty of Amiens was concluded, his Majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade, which had been imposed during the war, were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing, with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his Majesty with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

" To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French Government affords the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his Majesty's subjects during the war have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence has been offered, in several instances, to their vessels and their property, and in no case has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence

of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his Majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his Majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French Republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French Govnrnment had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons, for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable seaport towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to such a situation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty, and as no treaty, of that description, was in existence between his Majesty and the French Republic, there was, consequently, too much reason to suppose that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature; and this suspicion was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery, that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside. His Majesty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and presented to the French Government the necessity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied, that the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the Government by whom they were employed.

"The conduct of the French Government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must, therefore, be considered as ill suited to a state of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his Majesty's dominions, appears to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and justice. His Majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances, and professions of the French Government, that they might have been induced to adopt a system of policy

which, if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might, at least, have allayed their jealousies. If the French Government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had proved to be essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the French Revolution. But his Majesty, has, unfortunately, had too much reason to observe and to lament that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandisement, which characterised the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland against the will, and in defiance of remonstrances of the Batavian Government, and in repugance of the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the Treaty of Luneville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to choose their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the Island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the King of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a solemn engagement to the Emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth, be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French Government.

"In the month of October last his Majesty was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the Swiss Nation, to make an effort, by a representation to the French Government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms; and measures were taken by his Majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the Swiss Cantons, as well as the sentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His Majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to coun-

teract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his Majesty, therefore, felt, that, with respect to these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted.

" It was about this time that the French Government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his Majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possessions, and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change so made may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situations; but, whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there, is indisputably, a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The Treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not, therefore, assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulation, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is, alone, a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states, and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by considerations of prudence These principles can admit of no dispute; but if the new and extraordinary pretensions advanced by the

French Government, to exclude his Majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers, unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French Government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers, who were no parties to the Treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his Majesty in their behalf, are, nevertheless, to be made the victims of a war, which is alledged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest, which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

" His Majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then effected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities, on account of the views of ambition, and acts of aggression, manifested by France on the continent; yet, an experience of the character and dispositions of the French Government could not fail to impress his Majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

" Whilst his Majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the French Government to evacuate the Island of Malta. His Majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the Definitive Treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that the election of a Grand Master had taken place, under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at St. Petersburgh, to acknowledge the person whom the Court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them, to be Grand Master of the Order of St. John, his Majesty proposed to the French Government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when, in the month of August, the French Government applied to his Majesty, to permit the Nea-

politan troops to be sent to the Island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his Majesty consented, without hesitation; to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His Majesty had thus shewn his disposition, not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the Treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majesty, cannot, however, admit, that, at any period since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the Island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French Government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a Grand Master had not been carried into effect. The 10th Article had stipulated, that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The Emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese *langue* should be abrogated; and the King of Prussia had given no answer whatever, to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the Order since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace. It was to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, that his Majesty was, by the first stipulation of the 10th Article, bound to restore the Island of Malta. The Order is defined to consist of those *langues*, which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty; the three French *langues* having been abolished, and a Maltese *langue* added to the institution. The Order, consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following *langues*, viz.: the *langues* of Arragon, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia. Since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the *langues* of Arragon and Castile, have been separated from the Order, by Spain; a part of the Italian *langue* has been abolished by the annexation of Pied-

mont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation, to sequestrate the property of the Bavarian *langue*, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian *langues* within the dominions of the Emperor.

"Under these circumstances, the Order of St. John cannot now be considered as that body, to which, according to the stipulation of the Treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensibly necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the Contracting Parties to the Treaty to control, his Majesty, would, nevertheless, have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the Order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the Treaty; if the French Government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the Order, whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his Majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable, that the revenues of the two Spanish *langues* have been withdrawn from the Order by his Catholic Majesty; a part of the Italian *langue* has, in fact, been abolished by France, through the unjust annexation of Piedmont, and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The Elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French Government, to sequestrate the property of the Order within his territories; and it is certain, that they have not only sanctioned, but encouraged the idea of the propriety of separating the Russian *langues* from the remainder of the Order.

"As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his Majesty, that the non-execution of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

"Such would be the just conclusion if the 10th Article of that

Treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself: it must be observed, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

" His Majesty was induced, by the Treaty of Peace, to consent to abandon, and to restore to the Order of St. John, the Island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition (which must, necessarily, be supposed to have had considerable influence with his Majesty, in inducing him to make so important a concession) was, the acquiescence of the French Government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the 8th and 9th Articles in the Treaty, stipulating the integrity of the Turkish Empire and the independence of the Ionian Islands. His Majesty has, however, since learned, that the French Government have entertained views hostile to both these objects, and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish Empire. These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the Report of Colonel Sebastiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents, in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian Islands, and from the distinct admission of the First Consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth, his Majesty was therefore warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French Government to violate those articles of the Treaty of Peace which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire and of the Ionian Islands; and, consequently, he would not have been justified in evacuating the Island of Malta without receiving some other security which might equally provide for these important objects: his Majesty, accordingly, feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France, since the Treaty of Peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that Treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the Island of Malta.

" Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French Government to his Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of war.

"If the views of ambition and agrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French Government since the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, have, in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his Majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that Government to his crown and his people.

"The Report of Colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This Paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and, indeed, bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the Government to which it was addressed, who, thereby, have given it their express sanction.

"This Report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country, in the Communication of the First Consul of France to the Legislative Body: in this Communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magistrate of that country, "That Great Britain cannot, singly, contend against the power of France;" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent; disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his Majesty and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

"The conduct of the First Consul to his Majesty's ambassador, at his audience, in presence of the ministers of most of the sovereigns and states of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French Government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion; and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating, instead of palliating, the affront.

"At the very time when his Majesty was demanding satisfaction

and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned the French Minister at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the insertion, in a Hamburgh paper, of a most gross and opprobrious libe against his Majesty; and, when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his official character, of Minister of the French Republic, to require the publication of it, by order of his Government, in the Gazette of the Senate of that town. With this requisition, so made, the Senate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument, by the menace of the French Government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his Majesty and his Government. His Majesty might add to this list of indignities the requisition, which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed, relative to the liberty of the press: his Majesty might, likewise, add, the calls which the French Government have, on several occasions, made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has, at any time, been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French Government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction, that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system, which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting, his Majesty and his Government.

"Under all these insults and provocations, his Majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means, consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions, to induce the Government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquility of Europe: his efforts, in this respect, have proved abortive; and he has, therefore, judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his Majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two Governments, and to

close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his Majesty.

"But, though the provocations which his Majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced; yet, anxious to prevent calamities, which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted: he has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that, notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the Treaty of Peace; notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that Treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself: his Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given to him for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

"His Majesty has thus, distinctly and unreservedly, stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state, by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the future progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

Westminister, March 8.

Respecting the assertions made in the King's Message; viz. "That considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland," it seems there was no occasion to wait for their contradiction from France; for, when the Message was taken into consideration, both Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham conceived that the House was never more completely in the dark upon the subject which then called for another armament. Mr. Fox, with a presentiment, which cannot but appear

peculiarly striking, concluded his speech with the following remarkable words.—"That his Majesty's ministers would do well to consider the tendency of their measures; if, through their negligence, rashness, or ill-concerted plans, they involved the country in war at this important period, he should pronounce the present administration the *most fatal and destructive* that ever directed the affairs of Great Britain."

In fact, the very outset of the Message was positively controverted in the House of Commons, with strict truth, in Sir Henry Mildmay's motion for a Naval Inquiry; when Captain Markham, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, asserted, that he desired to be understood, "that, in all parts of the world, we had a naval force much more than adequate to cope with the force of any power in Europe; and that, at home, it was amply sufficient to meet any French force; which, indeed, consisted of nothing better than fishing boats, and existed only in the minds of a few gentlemen on the other side of the house." Thus, in the face of the nation, and of all Europe, was this declaration made; which left the public, just, to conclude, that the alledged causes of our arming did not exist.

However, from March till May, notwithstanding this Message, there were some faint hopes of an amicable termination of the "important discussions" alluded to; when, on the 16th of this month, a Message was presented to both Houses of Parliament, from his Majesty, informing them, that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had quitted London.

In the Lords, also, the reasons assigned by ministers for going to war, were ably contested. The Marquis of Lansdown, thought the pretended aggressions of France, in Switzerland, rather belonged to Austria, and the continental powers, than to us: and he thought in that, as well as in the American war, that the spirit of reconciliation would do more than the force of arms. Lord King,

thought, Malta by no means an object worth going to war; and his Lordship, with the Duke of Norfolk, were in the minority of ten, for an amendment to the Address voted to his Majesty in answer to his Message. Still Mr. Fox was the most able among those who disputed the veracity of ministers, and combated their arguments for war. The desire of Buonaparté to be possessed of Egypt, he contended, was not in itself a sufficient ground for war, or, otherwise, we should never have been at peace with the House of Bourbon. He compared our enormous acquisitions, by force and fraud, in India, with the aggrandizement of the French upon the continent; and insisted, that we had no more right to complain of France than she had to complain of us. As to Malta, he said, it was known that Russia would have guaranteed it upon certain conditions; but we choose to keep it to ourselves for ten years. Respecting the mission of Sebastiani to Egypt, he observed, there had been hardly a year of peace since the Treaty of Utrecht, in which the old French Government had not some such missionary at work; and that, if war was necessary on that ground, Europe would never know a single year of peace! All these observations being made before the answer of the First Consul to our King's Declaration was received, we have only mentioned, to shew, that an apology from France was scarcely wanted, after it had been thus made for her by some of the soundest patriots, and greatest statesmen in England.

THE END OF CHAP. IV.

CHAPTER V.

France and England prepare for Operations in Europe and the Indies....The Established and Supplementary Militia called out....Admiral Linois sails from Brest....The French occupy Tarentum, &c. in Italy....General Mortie advances to take Possession of Hanover, where the People refuse to rise in a Mass to support the Duke of Cambridge. ....Article ordered to be inserted in the Hamburgh Paper, by the French Government....Transactions at Paris, &c.... Conversation between the First Consul, and Lord Whitworth.

THE Message was no sooner known in France than acted upon: both nations, it was observed, began to develope their respective means of attack and annoyance. The Island of Malta, the immediate cause of the war, was so strong from its fortifications, and so well garrisoned, that France could not entertain the slightest hope of its conquest by force; of course, the line of hostilities which each nation meant to pursue, was foreseen from their relative positions. Great Britain, mistress of the seas, would naturally direct her principal attack against the colonies and maritime possessions of France, while France, being equally powerful by land, was equally as able to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain in Italy, Germany, and every country where her armies could penetrate.

The British Government lost no time in sending a strong reinforcement of troops to the West Indies. The defensive force of the country was also called forth in the Supplementary, and the Regular Militia, and by accepting the services of a considerable number of volunteer

corps: and the exertions of Government then appeared to be so entirely confined to measures of *defence*, that even the enemy observed, "It was strange that Great Britain should seek a war, merely to shew that she could put herself into a strong position of resistance." However, that it was not to be a mere defensive system which this country was to follow, was soon evinced, by the reduction of the Islands of St. Lucia and Tobago, besides, preparations for attacking the other possessions of France, in different quarters. France, on the other hand was not inactive. A few days after the date of the King's Message, Admiral Linois sailed from Brest for the East Indies, with a strong squadron, and a considerable land force, to reinforce the Cape, and strengthen the French garrisons. In Europe, as might be expected, the French armies were immediately put in motion. The army of Italy strongly reinforced, pushed on to Tarentum, and threatened to occupy all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples, bordering on the Adriatic. The French generals, charged with the execution of these orders, expressed in their proclamations, that it was necessary, while England retained Malta, France should occupy these important positions.

On the side of Germany the French were not less active: M. Talleyrand had already stated, in plain terms, to Lord Whitworth, that, in the event of hostilities, it was natural that a considerable army should be formed in Holland; and though his Majesty's positive Declaration of War was not laid before Parliament till the 18th of May, on the 25th General Mortier, from his head quarters at Coerverden, summoned the Hanoverian Electorate to surrender to his army.—But, even in this step, it was undeniable that Buonaparté wished to leave an opening for peace; as General Mortier formally professed, that he wished to occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, agreeably to the conditions of the Treaty of Amiens; further asserting, that it was only for

the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the Peace of Amiens that he had ordered his troops to occupy that portion of Germany in which the present reigning Family of England were particularly interested. —But, though the Duke of Cambridge was sent over to Hanover as Commander-in-Chief, and proclamations were published in his name, and that of the Hanoverian Government, calling upon all the inhabitants, able to bear arms, to defend their country to the last drop of blood, the people were too wary to be thus persuaded to sacrifice themselves to the superiority of France, in behalf of a government that had neglected them. It was to no purpose that the Duke of Cambridge told them, he was ready to share all their dangers: they seemed rather to listen to General Mortier, who informed them, in his Address, that "he had heard of proclamations, dictated by the blindest fury, for the purpose of drawing them into a contest to which they ought to be strangers; and desired them to preserve themselves from an aggression equally absurd and useless, of which they alone would be the victims." To this advice the Hanoverian citizens wisely listened, and positively refused to oppose the French, or rise in a mass, as the mad ministers of England wished to persuade them. The military made some opposition, but it proved trifling and of no avail; in the end, they were obliged to capitulate, and enter into an engagement, not to serve against France, or her Allies, till regularly exchanged.

But, as Buonaparté never neglected any moral means for annoying his enemies and defeating their purposes, he caused the following Article to be inserted in "The Hamburgh *Correspondenten*," a paper printed in that city in the German language:

Paris, March 15.

"For some months a war of newspapers, and of the press, has been kept up between France and England: this seemed merely the dying embers of an extinguished

conflagration, the last consolation of a desperate party, the food of some low passions and a few hungry scribblers: the French Government was far from attaching importance to such matters. Notwithstanding some difficulties in the complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens, they still believed they might rely on the good faith of the British Government, and directed their attention solely to the re-establishment of the colonies. Relying upon the sacredness of treaties, they securely dispersed the remains of the French naval force, which had been given a prey to the English fleet. In this situation, suddenly appeared a solemn Message from the cabinet of St. James's, and informed all Europe that France was making considerable preparations in the ports of Holland and France; an address was voted by parliament, promising to the King of England such extraordinary means of defence, as the security of the British empire, and the honour of the three crowns, might require.

"From the sudden appearance of this Message, people doubted whether it was the effect of treachery, of lunacy, or of weakness. Let any one cast his eyes over the ports of France and Holland, where he will find only detached naval preparations destined for the colonies, and consisting only of one or two line of battle ships, and a few frigates. On the other hand, let him look at the ports of England, filled with a formidable naval force; on such a review, one would be tempted to believe that the Message of the King of England was mere irony, if such a farce were not unworthy the majesty of a government. If one considers the influence of factions in so free a country, one might suppose that the King of England had only had the weakness to yield, if weakness were compatible with the first quality of a king. In short, no rational motives remain to which it can be ascribed, except bad faith—except a sworn enmity to the French nation—except perfidy, and the desire of openly breaking a solemn treaty, for the sake of advantages which will be

maintained, and the sacrifice of which the honour of France and the faith of treaties forbid.

"When a man reads this Message, he thinks himself transported to the times of those treaties which the Vandals made with the degenerate Romans, when force usurped the place of right, and when, with a hasty appeal to arms, they insulted the antagonist they meant to attack. In the present state of civilization, there is a respect which a great monarch—which a polished people owe to themselves, were that respect no more than the seek a plausible pretext for an unjust war. But in this instance every thing is precipitate, and repugnant to decency and to justice. An eternal war would succeed a dreadful contest; and the more unjust the attack, the more irreconcileable would be its animosities.

"Such a novelty will, doubtless, excite the disapprobation of Europe. While even the English, whose national pride had not entirely blinded them, sighed at this prospect; did the *Times* call the Peace of Amiens an armistice, and, in doing so, passed the severest satire on the Government it defended; and the rapid fall of the national funds is the first prelude to the misfortunes which may follow, as the revenge due for the wound given to all social rights.

"The French are less intimidated than irritated by the threats of England: they have neither been dispirited by their reverses, nor elated by their victories; in a war to which there appeared no termination, they saw all Europe confederated against them. Their constancy—their courage, and the prompt activity of their government, brought it to a conclusion. *This* war would have a different object. France would contend for the liberty of the states of Europe, and the sacredness of their treaties; and if the English Government be determined to make it a national war, perhaps her boasted formidable naval strength would not be sufficient to decide the result, and to secure the victory.

"The French, strong in the justice of their cause, and in the confidence they repose in their Government, do not dread the new expences and new sacrifices which such a war might render necessary. Their system of finance is more simple, and less artificial than that of London, and so much the more solid. It all lies in their soil and in their courage.

"On the first news of the English Message, all eyes were turned to the Cabinet of the Thuilleries. Its most trifling motion received a character of importance; its most unpremeditated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which Madame Buonaparté holds once a month. Every one was prepared to draw some inferences from it. It was as splendid as usual. The First Consul made his appearance, and said, on his entrance, to the English Ambassador, who was standing beside M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The King of England says 'that France is making immense naval preparations.' He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo, and the colonies. With regard to the ports of Holland, to which the Message likewise alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under General Victor, and all Europe knows its destination is for Louisiana. The King says farther, that between the Cabinets of Paris and London, differences continue. I know of none. It is true, that England ought to have evacuated Malta, and Malta is not evacuated; and, as his Britannic Majesty has bound himself by the most solemn treaty ever entered into, it is impossible to doubt of the speedy evacuation of that island; and," added the First Consul, "Those who would attempt to frighten the French people, should know that it is possible to kill, but not to intimidate them."

"During the course of the evening, when the First

Consul happened to be near M. Markoff, he said to him, half aloud, 'That the British ministry wished to keep Malta for five years more. Such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties should be entered into, which it was not resolved to observe.' At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English Ambassador was about to retire, the First Consul said to him, 'Madame, the Duchess of Dorset has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris. It is my sincere wish that she may also spend the agreeable season. But if it should happen that we must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they had concluded.'"

It was through the medium of the *Moniteur*, that we first learned, for a certainty, that Alexandria had been evacuated by the English, on the 17th of March; and that Elfi Bey had embarked as Ambassador Extraordinary from the rebel Beys in Egypt, to the Court of London. About the same time we learned from Paris, that the First Consul, driving a phæton with four horses in hand, was thrown from his seat in the park of St. Cloud. The shock was violent; but he lighted on the grass, and experienced no injury except a slight bruise in the hand. In the meanwhile the actual commencement of the war, created no particular anxiety among the Parisians, as their minds had been in a great measure prepared for it by a variety of circumstances, particularly the Conversation between Lord Whitworth and the First Consul, of which it seems the most accurate account was given in the following Letter from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated

Paris, Feb. 21st, 1803.

"My Lord,

"My last Dispatch, in which I gave your Lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a Note from him, informing me that the First Consul wished to converse with me,

and desired I would come to him at the Thuilleries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his Cabinet, with tolerable cordiality; and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did, on the other side of the table, and began. He told me that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. de Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his Majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself, than through any medium whatever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner, as must bring the point to an issue.

" He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line, our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by the Treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg, St. Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard, as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered, as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite this country against him, and his Government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that

two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world.

"He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because, every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions,) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He now went back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.*

"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked

much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him, but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

"He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men; for to this amount it is, he said, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England, with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strifes might overturn it. He said, that, if he had not felt the enmity of the British Government, on every occasion, since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate; participation in indemnities, as well as in influence, on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British Government, and, therefore, it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies, (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description,) must be withdrawn. If war, it was necessary only to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the Treaty. He now made the tour of Europe, to prove to me that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France, consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we

had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice, to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him, by any violent act of aggression, neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

"In the little I said to him, (for he gave me, in the course of two hours, but very few opportunities of saying a word.) I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your Lordship's instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani's report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. He maintained that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and, on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

"I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the First Consul in detail: this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and, at the same time, to

impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

"With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which, he said, constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, I observed, that, after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history, has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail: but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we had such motives of mistrust against France, as could not be alledged against us; and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the Treaty, when he interrupted me, by saying I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "*ce sont des bagatelles:*" and it must have been foreseen, whilst the negotiation was pending; "*Vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler a cette heure.*" I then alledged, as a cause of mistrust and of jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his Majesty's subjects—He asked me in what respect, and I told him, that, since the signing of the Treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman, of that description, had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained, to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property, detained in the several ports of France, and elsewhere, without even a shadow of

justice: such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed, that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British Government. That as for any participaton of indemnities, or other accessions which his Majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his Majesty's ambition led him rather to preserve than to acquire. And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that, if his Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies for, perhaps, inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

"At this part of the conversation he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andreossy to enter on the discussion of this business with your Lordship; but he wished that I should, at the same time, be made acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sincerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for

a few moments, on indifferent subjects, in apparent good-humour, and retired.

"Such was, nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

"It must, however, be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission *to commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WHITWORTH.

"P.S. This conversation took place on Friday last, and this morning I saw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the First Consul, after I left him, and he assured me that he had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which I had made my observations on what fell from him. I told him, that, without entering into any farther detail, what I had said to the First Consul amounted to an assurance of what I trusted there could be no doubt, of the readiness of his Majesty's ministers to remove all subjects of discussion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil, strictly, the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as that could be reconciled with the safety of the state—As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt, or any part of the Turkish dominions. He could not then, he said, explain himself farther. Under these circumstances, no one can expect that we should relinquish that assurance which we have in hand till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

"WHITWORTH.

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

CHAPTER VI.

The English, in France, made Prisoners....The Dutch Government brought into the War....The Death of the King of Etruria....The French Clergy induced to congratulate Buonaparté as the Messiah of Providence, and another Cyrus....Immense Force of the Republic....The English Government proclaim a Fast....Preparations at Boulogne, and Admiral Bruix's Proclamation....Exposition of the State of the Republic....The Royalsts Conspiracy, Pichegru, Moreau, and Georges, apprehended....Buonaparté's Answer to the Senate's Address....Observations in the Moniteur of the 7th of March....The Prophecies of Isaiah and Danie applied to Great Britain....Arrest and Execution of the Duke D'Enghien....Accusation of Mr. Drake, the British Resident at Bavaria; and of Mr. Frere at Madrid.... Lord Hawkesbury's circular Note in Vindication of these Charges....Reflections on the parricidical Principle of assassinating Kings and Princes, applied to Englishmen.

IF the return of Lord Whitworth from Paris had, naturally, extinguished all hopes of peace between the two countries, another circumstance, that followed soon after, raised the spirit of hostility beyond all former bounds; this was produced by an order from the French Government to sieze all the English in France, and was announc-in the *Moniteur* as follows:

" The Government of the Republic, having heard read, by the Minister of Marine and Colonies, a dispatch from the maritime prefect at Brest, announcing that two English frigates had taken two French merchants vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations.

I. It is prescribed to all commanders of squadrons or naval divisions of the Republic, captains of its ships, and

other vessels of war, to chase those of the King of England, as well as those vessels belonging to his subjects, and to attack, capture, and conduct them into the ports of the Republic.

II. Commissions will be delivered, in course, to those French privateers for which they are demanded.

III. All the English from the age of 18 to 60, or holding any commission from his Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall, immediately, be constituted prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the Republic who may have been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty, previous to any declaration of war.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

It is almost unnecessary to remark, that Holland was soon obliged to follow the footsteps of France. In the sitting of the Dutch Legislative Body at the Hague, on the 21st of June, a Message was sent from the Government, announcing, that the Republic, as an ally of France, was obliged to take part in the war; and that it only remained for them to put their trust in the divine protection, and the justice of their cause.

The Message announced, "That it had satisfied the desires of the First Consul, and placed the Batavian army under the orders of the French commander." Soon after this, it appeared, that all the ship-carpenters and boat-builders everywhere in France, from fifteen to sixty, had been called upon to work for government.

Just at this juncture the new King of Etruria died, and the Queen was declared regent for her son, only three years of age. That nothing might be wanting to second the exertions of the French and English, both governments left no means unemployed, physical or moral. The English Government ordered a Fast. Buonaparté, having just began to plant religion and good order where scepticism and anarchy had rioted before, now, for the

first time, began to make, through the proper organs, an appeal to the religious sentiments of his country.—Strongly prepossessed in his favour for what he had already done, his clergy affected to hail him as a most extraordinary personage, the instrument and favourite of Providence: this conduct of theirs, at that time, was looked upon, on this side of the water, as mere hypocrisy, and even blasphemy: but as subsequent events have rather tended to confirm the extraordinary character of Buonaparté, than otherwise, we must present our readers with the following Mandate of Cardinal Cambaceres, the Archbishop of Rouen; it refers to a public day of prayer and supplication:

"We are persuaded, says the Cardinal, "that the sovereign Arbiter of the destiny of empires will favour our cause, and that he will refuse to our enemies his divine protection, without which the most formidable preparations for war can only be attended with the most signal defeat: that he will avenge the sanctity of treaties, of which he was appealed to as the guarantee, as well by our adversaries as ourselves. However, as we are not ignorant that God wishes we should implore those favours his paternal heart burns to grant, entreat of him, most dear Brethren! that we may conquer the enemy that provokes us, and moderately use our victory.—Let us demand of him, particularly, that the Man of his right-hand, the Man, who, by his direction and by his orders, has done so much for the re-establishment of his worship, and who proposes to do so much more, may continue to be, like Cyrus, the Messiah of Providence; that he may watch over his life and cover him with his wings; that he may shield his august person from the dangers he may meet in combat, and those he has fear from the envy of his detractors, on account of his merit from the wicked, because his object is to do good; from impiety, because he is supporting religion; from pol and from foreign

passions, because he is the First Man of a great state," and that the happiness of the Empire he governs is essentially united with his preservation."

In preparations by land the French were by no means deficient: the Paris papers stated, (and there is no reason to doubt their authenticity) that the Republic possessed a disposable force of 600,000 men! The remainder of the year 1803 was, in fact, remarkable for nothing more than the final evacuation of St. Domingo, by the French, and the loss of all their influence in the West Indies. On the part of the English (as we hinted before) the 16th of November was observed as a general Fast; and which, in consequence of the attendance of the numerous volunter corps upon divine service, was also distinguished as a grand military spectacle; particularly, as his Majesty appeared in Hyde Park, attended by the French princes, with several of the French *noblesse* and General Dumourier in their train.

In the meanwhile preparations, very different from field-day exercises, were going on in the different French ports, particularly at Boulogne, from whence Admiral Bruix, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

E. Bruix, Counsellor of State, and Admiral of the Flotilla destined to carry War to England.

Head Quarters at Boulogne.

"The First Consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you, to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a Hero, would not be raised above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice of Buonaparté, render me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery, are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations Already you hear the cry of vengeance—our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready

to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprise—to you your country first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination. Recollect that the victory begins in your docks, and in your marine and military exercises. Those ships which insolently cruize along our shores, at sight of your labours, may return, and say to their government, 'A fearful day is preparing; the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may, in a few hours, bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory. To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the field of battle, to lose a moment, would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal; multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas, will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

"BRUIX."

The French Government, which in its chief, as well as its administrators, has retained the eyes of an Argus, ever since Buonaparté became First Consul, continuing watchful and zealous of the conduct of the English, communicated to the French nation the discoveries they had recently made, in an article entitled, an "Exposition of the State of the Republic on the 16th of January 1804." An entire tranquillity (says this manifesto) prevailed in the *interior* of France, when; at the commencement of the last year, we entertained hopes of a permament peace, and every thing else has remained tranquil, though a jealous power has re-kindled the torch of war; but this event has produced among us a more complete union of interests and opinions, and the public spirit has burst forth with redoubled energy.

This paper dwells upon the improved state of the finances—the prosperous situation of the interior; and

then reverts to the wishes of the French people, and their Government, for a permanent peace, on the ground that it was to its prosperity alone, that the Republic was to be indebted for all its glory. With this view their arts were encouraged, their ships were dispersed over the seas; no armaments were in their ports, nothing of a threatening nature appeared on their frontiers. This, then, was the moment when the British Government choose, to alarm its nation—to cover the Channel with ships—to insult our commerce by injurious inspections, and our coasts and ports, as well as those of our allies, by the presence of its menacing forces.

If, on the 17th Ventôse (March 8) of the 11th year, there existed any extraordinary armament in the ports of France and Holland; if a single preparation was made in them to which the most remote suspicion could give a sinister interpretation, then, we are the aggressors: the Message of the King of England, and his hostile attitude, have been rendered necessary by a legitimate precaution, and the English people had a right to believe we threatened their independence, their religion, their constitution. But, if the assertions of the Message were false; if they were contradicted by the opinion of Europe, as well as by the conscience of the British Government, then that Government have deceived their nation; they have deceived it, by precipitating it, without reflection, into a war, the terrible effects of which begin now to be felt in England, and the results of which may be decisive of its future destiny. The aggressor, however, ought alone to answer for the calamities which afflict humanity. Malta, the cause of this war, was in the power of the English; it remained with France to arm to effect its independence; it was France which waited, in silence, for the justice of England, and it was England who began the war even without a declaration. This Exposition likewise descanted upon the tranquillity of the continent, little thinking how soon it was again to be converted into fire and flame!

Peace, it was said, reigned in Italy; and, that the Ottoman Porte, fatigued by intrigues, would gain by the interest of France, the support of antient treaties. However, this prospect of peace on the continent soon proved itself fallacious, because the accusation which the same Exposition contained against the English, appeared to be true, viz: that the British Government had endeavoured "to land, on the French coast, those Royalists, *monsters* whom they have encouraged during the peace, in order to effect a revolt; but such attempts will be futile, as the people are reconciled, by experience, to the wisdom and justice of their laws: that this prediction was literally realized, will be demonstrated by a circumstance, which is now to be brought forward."

On the 12th of February, it was thus announced by the Paris papers, "that a conspiracy of a very emplicated nature had been discovered. It is said, that 150 men were to assemble in the uniform of guards, to seize Buonaparté at Malmaison, where he was hunting, or wherever else he might be found, and to carry him off. The uniforms were discovered in consequence of the information of one of the conspirators, who is in confinement in the Temple. The chief of the Chouans, Georges, only escaped by a quarter of an hour. The officers of the Police, also repaired to the mistress of an Inn here. The sign of the conspirators was an English piece of gold. They drew off her glove, and found in it a similar piece of English gold. They then opened her drawers, and found a Letter, directing her, on a day specified, to carry to a certain house in the *Rue de Burgoinge au Morris*, twenty bottles of wine, and to ring so many times at the door. The Police officers took the bottles, and repaired to the house, where they rang, and found a number of persons, who defended themselves in a very desperate manner. Among those arrested, were Mairn, an intimate of Georges, the Vendean Royalist: one Victor, who had been in a former plot, and the cook of Georges. General Moreau

has been arrested, and the grand plot has been solemnly announced by the Government to the Legislative Assembly." And it was then stated, that General Moreau had held repeated conferences with Georges, Pichegru, and La Jollais; and the whole of the conspiracy was attributed to the English Government.

On the 17th of February Regnier, the Grand Judge, made a report to the French Government, in which he asserted, that a band of assassins, headed by Georges, and in the pay of England, were still dispersed in La Vendée, Morbihan, and the Cotes du Nord. It was also stated, that an accomplice had been lately seized at Calais, upon his second return from England, and that the papers found on him, proved the criminality of General Moreau. La Jollais was the courier who transmitted the sentiments of Moreau to General Pichegru, when the latter was in London; and, that at a spot between Dieppe and Treport, the brigands of England were brought over in English ships, by Captain Wright, and landed, without being observed, and where they found men to receive them, and to conduct them, during the night, from fixed stations on the road, to Paris.

After the judges report had been read in the Tribunate, the brother of General Moreau made an energetic and indignant speech, declaring the whole an infamous calumny, and demanding that his brother might be instantly brought to trial. The Senate, however, imputing the Speech more to natural affection than sound judgment, transmitted an Address of congratulation to Buonaparté, to which, in the conclusion of his reply, he expressed himself, in a manner prophetically, as follows:

"I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life: all my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which *my fate*, and the will of the French people, have imposed on me. Heaven will watch over France, and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm; my life will last as long

as it will be useful to the nation: but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be to me without consolation, and would, for them, have no object."

General Pichegru, then in Paris, was not arrested till the 28th of February; when six *gens-d'armes*, and an agent of the police, entered his apartment so unexpectedly, that he had no time to use his pistols, or the dagger which lay on the table: he, however, wrestled with his opponents for a considerable time, and, when he found he could not prevail, endeavoured, without effect, to interest their compassion. The Government, in the meanwhile, having certain intelligence that a great number of the conspirators were in Paris, had the barriers so strictly watched, that even Georges could not effect his escape. On this occasion it may only be necessary to add, that both Georges and Moreau were found guilty. The first was executed, and died with great fortitude; the latter was pardoned by Buonaparté, on condition of transporting himself to America: and that Pichegru died in prison; or, as it was stated in the Paris papers, strangled himself in a black silk handkerchief, twisted round his neck by the help of a stick; and he was buried in a place appropriated to the remains of those who commit suicide. A number of Chouans, or Royalists, were executed in the departments, being found without passports; a proof but too fatal of their designs in returning to the French territory. This, however, in England, as well as the justice executed upon Georges, and the lenity, shewn to Moreau, were imputed to cruelty and to fear; and, in fact, as in every thing else, in which Buonaparté was concerned, every motive, but the real one, was brought forward to account for his actions; and though a work styled, "The Official Defence of General Moreau, before the Tribunal at Paris, said to have been suppressed in France," was translated into English, and published in this city; the tranlator owned, "that it appeared that a certain

number of men once in affluence, but now in indigence, and attached to the cause of the Bourbon Family, were perpetually forming plans for its restoration; they, (says he,) deceive themselves as to the means, and, very frequently, those who listen to them, as to their intentions."

This is evidently a poor and ungenerous attempt to shift the *odium* of the conspiracy from the principals to the miserable agents: still, not to be misunderstood, the translator of this work proceeds thus: "To speak plainly, many of the French Emigrants, exiled from their country, have turned the whole of their talents, their energy, and their natural disposition for intrigue, into a general effort for reinstating themselves, and their royal Master, at the expense of all who will listen to their tales: the peace of kings and individuals is with them a matter of no consideration."

This unsuccessful attempt upon the life of Buonaparté, after he had been acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of France, was considered as too atrocious to be passed over, by the *Moniteur*, without repeated animadversion: that of March 7, 1804, contained, among others, the following striking observations:

"Last year, on this day, Europe was at peace! to morrow, a year will have revolved since the King of England, dishonouring a reign of forty-two years by the grossest falshoods, called upon his nation to take up arms —Because,' said he, in the face of Europe, 'the ports of France and Holland are filled with considerable armaments, which threaten the constitution, the independence, and the *religion* of the English people.' That fallacious message renewed the war: the ministers of the King of England were preparing a new message to celebrate this anniversary: they relied upon being able to announce to Parliament, that they had basely caused the First Consul to be assassinated. But He, who disposes of the life of man, and of the destinies of empires, had

otherwise ordained it. The French Government is more consolidated; a new energy has arisen to animate and unite the citizens, and to teach the conspirators that the whole people collects itself and rallies round the Chief of the State. The First Consul, superior to all events, is more enabled than ever to fulfil the decree of the Fates, and to avenge the rights of nations, so frequently violated: while the King of England———"

At the sight of these striking proofs of the existence of a divine and just Providence, the most sublime pictures of the prophecies of Isaiah present themselves to the mind: we say, with Daniel, *Mene, Tekel Upharsin*; viz. *Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting.*

The next subject that occupied the public attention was the seizure of one of the royal family of France; viz the Duke D'Enghien, at Ettenheim, in the German territory of the Elector of Baden; where a number of Emigrants, and other persons, said to have been in the pay of England, had been some time assembled. Notice of this assemblage having been sent to Paris, Buonaparté dispatched M. de Caulincourt, his aid-de-camp, who, arriving on the German side of the Rhine marched towards Offenburg, where he ordered the commandant to point out the Emigrants in that town, fifteen of whom were immediately arrested, including the Duke D'Enghien. No resistance was made by the Elector of Baden; but he immediately dispatched a courier to his son-in-law, the Emperor of Russia. This took place on the 14th of March; and, in the night between the 21st and 22nd, the Duke having arrived at Paris, under an escort of fifty *gens-d'armes*, he was conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was tried and condemned by a military commission, assembled for the purpose. He was immediately transferred to the wood of Vincennes. He desired to speak with the First Consul, but this could not be obtained: he then collected himself, and met death with resolution: he would not suffer his

eyes to be bound. Of the nine grenadies who fired at him, seven bullets took place. He was buried in the garden of the castle, in the 32nd year of his age.

Soon after this one of the *Moniteurs* contained a volumnious report, of the Grand Judge, on the conspiracy, consisting of a series of letters and papers, to prove that Mr. Drake, the British minister at Munich, in Bavaria, was employed in the project of destroying the French Government, by causing the powder mills in France to be blown up and effecting a disorganization in the armies: the instructions and letters sent to and received from an agent, which Mr. Drake sent to Paris, are given at length. In one letter the agent is desired to print an address to the army, not to suffer Moreau to fall a victim to the jealousy of the Consul. These papers were immediately sent, by extraordinary couriers, to the foreign courts, and also to their ambassadors at Paris, all of whom returned indifferent answers, the American minister excepted; he entered into a long detail of the horror in which civilized nations must view the attempts of atrocious agents, and he feliciated Buonaparté on his happy escape from the plots of all these assassins. Sweden being then upon the point of coming to a rupture with the French, her ambassador returned no answer.

According to the *Moniteur*, the new principle of assassination, adopted by the English ministers, was not confined to France or Germany; it had, also, been advocated at Madrid: where our ambassador, Mr. Frere, being in conversation with the Prince of Peace, is said to have asserted, "That, in the present circumstances of England, assassination and murder were justifiable, in order to rescue her from the extraordinary situation in which she was placed!"—To this the Prince of Peace replied: "But, Sir! if France adopted the same principle, nations, instead of fleets and armies, would attack each other by means of assassins." To this the *Moniteur* added the following

Note, which was the only notice taken of the execution of the Duke D'Enghien in any Paris paper:

"The observation of the Prince of Peace has just been verified: and, at the moment when England was employing the Count D'Artois, as an assassin, one of the individuals of his house was suffering, in expiation of his guilt, under the sword of justice! Infamous late Bishop of Arras! behold the result of your councils!"

As, after these exposures, it would have been madness in the English ministers to have denied the facts charged upon them, they took a method, unheard of before in the annals of diplomacy: (unless we admit of the old Popish claim to the right of deposing kings and princes when they were acting inimical to its usurpations) in fact, the British ministers came forward with a written manifesto to justify themselves! for, on the 30th of April, a circular Note, signed by Lord Hawkesbury, addressed to the ministers of foreign courts, resident at the Court of London, contended for the right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of all discontents which might exist in countries with which they might be at war, and recriminated upon the French for keeping up a correspondence with his Majesty's disaffected subjects in Ireland; and alluded, at the same time, to a corps of Irish rebels in the French service, and then actually on the coasts of France, destined to second the former in their designs against this government. This Note went still further; it acknowledged, that, even if any minister, accredited by his Majesty at a foreign court, had kept up a correspondence with any person in France, with a view to obtain information, &c. he had done nothing more than what ministers, under similar circumstances, had always considered they had a right to do. But there was another distinction: a minister in a foreign country, it was stated, by the nature of his office, was obliged to abstain from all communication with the disaffected of the country where he is accredited, though he was not subject to the same restraints with re-

spect to countries with which his sovereign is at war; and, therefore, that his actions were only blameable or praiseworthy so far as they did or did not militate against the security of the country where he resided. It was further insinuated, that France, at that period, had no right to the distinction of that of a civilized government; and that, of course, it was the interest of all Europe to destroy her. However, it does not appear that one single ambassador replied to this extraordinary reasoning, which evidently covered the detestable plea for assassinating kings and princes under the pretext of assisting the inhabitants, justly discontented with any existing government which might be at war with that of Great Britain! Strange as it may appear, this parricidical principle has beeen, since, acted upon in Russia, and again avowed! We call it a parricidical principle; because as every sovereign is considered as the father of his people, the idea of assassinating him, when his people are at war, is as cruel and mischievous as that of assassinating the father of a family because his children are at variance with another family or nation. Besides, when Englishmen adopt this principle, what becomes of their own favourite maxim, that "the King can do no wrong; and the old axiom, that "the worst of governments is better than a state of anarchy?" No pernicious principle in politics, which can possibly be retaliated, should ever be adopted, upon any plea whatever; for what language could possibly express the enormity of the French Government, had it ever descended to the indignity of attempting to retaliate this odious principle upon our own august Sovereign, under the flimsy pretext of assisting the proscribed family of the Stuarts, or any of his "discontented subjects?".

THE END OF CHAP. VI.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Stone Expedition....Elevation of Buonaparté to the imperial Dignity....Unexpected Change of the English Ministry; the Removal of Mr. Addington and Lord St. Vincent, and Re-introduction of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville....Eulogium upon Mr. Addington's Administration....Mode of announcing Buonaparté as the Emperor of the French....Opposition by Carnot....Speech of the Consul Cambaceres to the Emperor....Answer to the same, &c.

THE early part of this year was distinguished by an undertaking, which, by right, should only have been recorded in the annals of dulness. A design, which originated with a London bookseller, was thus announced, in the Monthly Magazine, for March 1804.—"The French and Dutch ports are now blocked up more closely than ever: and a plan has been proposed, by Mr. Richard Philips, and is about to be carried into effect, for filling up those ports, at least in part, with stones, and with the hulks of old vessels; so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for even any sort of ships, or small craft, that can be armed for invasion, to make their way out of them, &c. Besides, to block up the ports of France and Holland (if this can indeed be effected by artificial sand-banks and sunken rocks) would reduce them more certainly to an absolute inability of invading our country, rivalling our commerce, or coping with our ships of war, than if we could burn half the towns in France, and slay, without loss to ourselves, one or two hundred thousand fighting men." Suffice it to say, that these fond romantic wishes, though tried, could not be realized; some of the stone vessels sunk even before they had reached the place of their destination! The ridicule expressed in the French

papers on this occasion, though uncommonly poignant, can scarcely be supposed to have been extravagant or misplaced. But the political hemisphere, in the month of April, 1804, was not less changeable than the natural one: the *respectable* Mr. Addington, as he had been termed by the First Consul, was set aside, and a new minister appointed, without the least expression of a wish, either in King or people, that any change should take place; while the new Minister was the very person whose dismission from the cabinet, only two years before, by the King, was received with general approbation by the people. The Peers, in particular, by their divisions in the House, shewed that they were determined to compel Mr. Addington to withdraw; a similar division in the Commons persuaded him to resign his post and avoid the disgrace of being turned out. But as the cry of the war party was for a vigorous administration, in a very few days they were highly gratified, by its being generally known that Mr. Pitt was to be the Prime Minister. This joyful, or, rather, fatal news, was soon followed by the certainty of knowing, that Lord Melville (the well-known Mr. Dundas) was to be his colleague, and to be placed at the head of the Admiralty. Mr. Addington, however, retired from office, at least, with the character of integrity and a regard for his country. He conciliated all parties; his manners were neither austere nor forbidding: it was justly said, "He opened the door of the prison, he suffered justice to take its free course; and if he did not do every thing that a wise and a good man might wish for, his forebarance to continue the practices which disgraced the country, under his predecessor, must entitle him to a very considerable degree of approbation and applause." Of the old ministry, at this period, Lord Hawkesbury alone was retained; Lord St. Vincent, left the Admiralty to make room for Mr. Dundas.

But, while a change was taking place in the British administration, one much more important was meditated

in France. The First Consul, on his accession to that dignity, thought it necessary to have it established by the suffrages of the people: but this form was no longer deemed needful to make him Emperor; because, the bodies, under the name of the Tribunate, and the Conservative Senate, represented to him the necessity of his taking upon himself the Imperial title: and this change in the name scarcely excited a debate. Carnot only opposed the assumption of the title of Emperor, upon the same ground as he resisted the motion for vesting the Consular power in Buonaparté, during life; but Carnot's resistance was very feeble: and this appearance of opposition, served rather to give the business the form of a free debate than otherwise. In fact, it was obvious, at that time, to every man of discernment, that it was of very little consequence whether the Sovereign of France should be addressed by the name of the First Consul or that of Emperor. However, on the 5th of May, the Tribunate, as it was said, exercising the right given them by the 29th Article of the Constitution, passed the following Vote:

"That Napoleon Buonaparté, the First Consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and, in that capacity, be invested with the Government of the French Republic.

"That the title of Emperor, and the Imperial power, be made hereditary in his family, in the male line, according to the order of promigeniture.

"That, in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities, the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity."

The foregoing Decree was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of Carnot, whose objections were replied to by M. Faure; who asked him, if he had

forgotten the government of 1793, and the horrible Committee of Ten, who, in cold blood, signed decrees of death and proscriptions. He said, he was astonished at hearing of an opposition to that which could alone prevent the return of such miseries.

In the meanwhile, between this vote and the formal Address of the Senate to the new Emperor, Joseph and Louis Buonaparte were created Princes of France, and the former was also made Colonel of the 4th regiment of the line, and ordered to Boulogne, to join the army of England. At length the Senate having gone through the whole of the new regulations, they were presented, in form, to Napoleon, at St. Cloud, on the 18th of May, when Consul Cambaceres, the President, presented the Organic Act to the Sovereign, and spoke as follows:

"SIRE,

"The Decree which the Senate has passed, and which it takes the earliest opportunity of presenting to your Imperial Majesty, is only the authentic expression of a will, already manifested by the nation. This Decree, which confers on you a new title, and which, after you receive the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years past, entrusted to your Majesty the reins of Government, and the Constitution of the State has reposed in you the choice of a successor. The more august denomination decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its dignity, and to the necessity it experiences of giving you daily testimonies of respect and attachment, which every day increase.

"How could the French nation find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and solicitude for it! Preserving the remembrance of the evils which it suffered, when abandoned to itself; how could they reflect, without enthusiasm, on the happiness it has experi-

enced, since Providence inspired it with the idea of throwing itself into your arms! Its armies were defeated; its finances were in disorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were disputing for the remains of our ancient splendour; every idea or morality, and even of religion, was obscured; the habit of giving and resuming power left the magistrates without consideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority.—Your Majesty appeared; you recalled victory to our standards; you established order and œconomy in the public expences. The Nation, encouraged by the use you made of your authority, resumed confidence in its own resources; your wisdom allayed the rage of party; religion saw her altars raised up; ideas of justice and injustice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they saw crimes followed by punishment, and virtue signalized and rewarded with honourable distictions. In the last place, and it is no doubt the greatest of the miracles operated by your genius, that people whose civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every restraint, and hostile to every authority, were, by your means, made to cherish and respect a power, which was exercised only for their glory and repose.

"The French people do not pretend to establish themselves judges of the constitutions of other states; they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have tasted, for ages, the advantage of hereditary power; they have made a short but painful trial of the contrary system; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation, to a path suited to their genius. They make a free use of their rights, to delegate to your Imperial Majesty, a power which your interest forbids you to exercise by yourself. They stipulate for future generations, and by a solemn compact, entrust to the offspring of your race,

the happiness of their posterity. The former will imitate your virtues, the latter will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation, which, after so much trouble and uncertainty, find in its bosom, a man worthy of appeasing the tempest of the passions, of conciliating all interests, and uniting all voices: Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affection, of the citizens!

"If it be in the principles of our constitutions, (and already several examples of this kind have been given) to submit to the sanction of the people, that part of the Decree which concerns the establishment of an Hereditary Government, the Senate have thought that it ought to entreat your Imperial Majesty, to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory, as well as the happiness of the Republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French."

The Emperor replied in the following terms.

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country, is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the Law of Hereditament. I hope France will never repent of its having surrounded with honours my family. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the Great Nation."

The Senate being then admitted to an audience with her Majesty the Empress; the Consul Cambaceres, the President, said,

"MADAME,

"We have just presented to your august spouse, the Decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which establishes the Government hereditary in his family, and associates future generations in the happiness of the pre-

sent race. A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the Senate—that of offering to your Imperial Majesty, the homage of its respect, and an expression of the gratitude of the French. Yes, Madame, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing, it says, that, being always accessible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the Chief of the State, only to relieve distress, and that, to the pleasure of obliging, your Majesty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude sweeter, and the kindness more valuable. This disposition presages, that the name of the Empress Josephine, will be the signal of consolation and hope; and, as the virtues of Napoleon, will always serve as an example to his successors, to teach them the art of governing nations, the living remembrance of your goodness will teach their august consorts, that the care of drying up tears, is the most effectual means of preserving an empire over all hearts.

"The Senate thinks itself happy, in the opportunity of being the first to salute you Empress; and he, who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your most faithful servants."

The Organic *Senatus Consultum*, was proclaimed by the Emperor, and published in Paris the following day at noon.

His Imperial Majesty, nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, his Imperial Highness Prince Joseph Buonaparte; to that of Constable, his Imperial Highness Prince Louis Buonaparte; to that of Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Consul Cambaceres; and to that of Arch-treasurer, the Consul Lebrun.

The Arch-chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-treasurer, and Constable, took the oaths in the presence of the Emperor.

His Imperial Majesty, afterwards, addressed to Consul Cambaceres and Lebrun the following

LETTER.

"Citizen Consul Cambaceres, your title is about to be changed; but your functions, and my confidence, remain the same. In the high dignity of Arch-chancellor, with which you are going to be invested, you will manifest, as you have done in that of Consul, the wisdom of your counsels, and those distinguished talents which have given you so important a share in all the good that I can have done.

"I have nothing, therefore, to request of you, but the continuation of the same sentiments for the state and for me.

(Signed) "NAPOLEAN."

Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, 28 Floreal, Year 12 (May 18, 1804.)

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, decrees the following generals to be Marshals of the Empire:

"Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Devoust, Bessieres.

"The title of Marshals of the Empire, to be given to the following Senators:

"Kellerman, Lefebre, Perignop, Serrurier.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

"H MURAT, Secretary of State."

Done at St. Cloud, by the Emperor.

It might have been expected, that this step of Buonaparté's would have been highly satisfactory to those in this country, who had declared themselves such warm advocates for a *regular government*; and who, during the former war, were always crying out, "Who are we to treat with?" but this was not the case, their complaints were louder than ever? The real cause of this was, the hopes of overthrowing the new order of things were now rendered desperate. Their *regular government* with the Bourbons, no doubt, would have restored the Pope, his clergy, and all their wholesome authority. But the supreme decree it seems had gone forth, and an angel had sworn, "*that their time should be no longer.*

THE END OF CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

Consequences of the Imperial Appointment....Letters to the Bishops of France....Singular Form of Prayer....Regulations for the Coronation....Russia takes up the Cause of the Duke D'Enghien....Note from M. D'Oubril....Answer of M. Talleyrand....Russian Ultimatum....Swedish Note and Answer in the Moniteur....Personality of the King of Sweden's Reply. The Emperor Francis assumes the Title of Emperor of Austria.

NAPOLEON being too great a politician to suffer the act of his elevation to pass simply as a civil ceremony, lost no time in giving it all the effect that it could receive from the aid of the religious institutions. His new dignity was, therefore, announced to the French bishops, in Letters of a similar tendency, to the following, addressed to the Archbishop of Paris. We are the more particular in noticing the religious promises made by Napoleon, on this ground; that, probably, there never yet was any potentate who had been able to realize either his projects or his promises, in a manner equal to himself: the Letter alluded to, runs thus:

"Cousin, the happiness of the French has always been the dearest object of my thoughts, and their glory that of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the constitution of the Republic, to the Imperial power, I see, in this new order of things, only greater means of assuring, both at home and abroad, the prosperity and dignity of the country. I repose, with confidence, in the powerful succour of the Most High. He will inspire his ministers with the desire of seconding me by all the means in their power. They will enlighten the people by instruction, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the

christian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of Heaven, upon the nation, and upon the Supreme Chief of the State. I write you this Letter, that, as soon as you have received it, you will cause *Veni Creator*, and *Te Deum*, to be sung in all the churches of your diocese, &c. &c."

Another Circular, also, enjoined the clergy to make use of the following Form of Prayer, which had already been used in the Imperial chapel.

" O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and especially of the French Empire, grant unto thy servant Napoleon, our Emperor, that he may know, and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he, whom thou hast appointed our Sovereign, may be always powerful, through thy grace."

On the 28th of May, this event was officially announced by the French *chargé-d'affaires*, to the Diet at Ratisbon, and a similar notification was made to the several foreign courts.

Regulations for the coronation, were also laid down by an Imperial Decree, dated from the Palace of St. Cloud, July 9th.

This ceremony was then appointed to take place in the month of November following, (the 18th Brumaire,) and certain of the public functionaries, from the several departments, together with detachments from the different military corps, were summoned to attend at Paris on the occasion: but the new Emperor, and his court, were soon called off by different circumstances, from the enjoyment of these high and dazzling dignities. These new honours, it seems, before they were to be worn, were again to be won in the field. If the Duke D'Enghien was dead, his advocates were alive and active. Hitherto, it had been rumoured, that the territory of the Elector of Baden, had been violated in the most indecorous manner; and that the Duke D'Enghien, had been taken in the territory of Baden, and carried off by surprize; but when this matter

came to be investigated, it appeared, that notwithstanding the complaint this Prince sent to his son in-law, the Emperor of Russia, he might, in the first place, have arrested the Emigrants at Ettenheim, or, if he had chosen so to do, apprized the Duke of his danger, and prevented his falling into the hands of the French. In fact, it appeared, that the Elector of Baden, received the following Letter from M. Talleyrand, dated March 10, addressed to his minister, Baron Edelsheim, of which M. de Caulincourt, was the bearer.

"SIR,

"I had formerly sent you a Note, the purport of which was, to request the arrest of the French Emigrants who were assembled at Offenburg; as the First Consul, from successive arrests of the banditti, which the English Government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenburg have had in those horrible plots, which have been devised against his own person and against the safety of France. He was, at the same time, warned that the Duke D'Enghien, and General Dumourier, were at Ettenheim. As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his Electoral Highnesss, the First Consul, therefore, could not see, without the deepest concern, that a prince, whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them, so tranquilly, to project such unprecedented conspiracies. From these extraordinary occurrences, the First Consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenburg and Ettenhem, to seize the authors of a crime, the nature of which is such, as to place those, who are proved to have had a share in it, out of the protection of the law of nations. It is General Caulincourt, who is charged with the ex-

ecution of these orders of the First Consul, and who, there is no doubt, will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his Electoral Highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver the Letter which I have been directed to write.

"M. TALLEYRAND."

From the relationship between the Emperor of Russia and the Elector of Baden, and the anxiety which the English Government had indulged to bring Russia, once more, into the contest, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the French Emigrants were placed at Offenburg and Ettenheim, as a snare to induce the French Government to commit itself with the Potentate of the North, and the Empire of Germany. However, the Emperor of Russia took the earliest opportunity to shew the interest he felt in the fate of the Duke D'Enghien; and, notwithstanding the reasons which the French had assigned for their conduct, he transmitted to Paris, through M. D'Oubril, the following

NOTE

Dated April 20, 1804.

"According to the orders which the undersigned *charge-d'affaires* of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has received from his court, he hastens to inform the minister of the French Republic, that his illustrious Master has learned, with equal astonishment and concern, the event that has taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances that have attended it, and its melancholy result. The concern of the Emperor on this occasion, is the more lively, as he can, by no means, reconcile the violation of the territory of the Elector of Baden, to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. His Imperial Majesty finds in this act a violation of the rights of nations, and of a neutral territory, which, at least, was as arbitrary as it was public; a violation, the consequences of which are difficult to estimate, and which, if considered as admissible, must entirely annihi-

late the security and independence of sovereign states. If the German Empire, after the misfortunes it has suffered, which have made it sensibly feel the necessity of tranquillity and repose, must still be in fear for the integrity of its territory, could it have been expected that this should have originated on the part of a government, which has laboured to secure to it peace, and imposed on itself the duty of guaranteeing its continuance. All these considerations have not permitted the Emperor to pass over in silence this unexpected event, which has spread consternation through all Germany. His Imperial Majesty has held it to be his duty, as guarantee and mediator of the peace, to notify to the states of the Empire, the manner in which he views an action which endangers their security and independence. The Russian Resident at Ratisbon, has, in consequence, received orders to deliver in a Note to the Diet, and to represent to it, and to the Head of the Empire, the necessity of remonstrating to the French Government against this violation of the German territory. His Imperial Majesty holds it in like manner, to be his duty to notify his sentiments directly to the French Government, by the undersigned, as his Majesty is assured that the First Consul will hasten to attend to the just remonstrances of the German political body, and feel the pressing necessity of taking the most active measures to relieve all the governments of Europe from the alarm he must have occasioned to them, and put an end to an order of things, too dangerous to their safety and future independence.

"The undersigned hereby fulfils the commands of his illustrious Master, and avails himself of this opportunity, to communicate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the assurance of his high esteem.

(Signed) "D'OUBRIL."

The answer of M. Talleyrand, to this Note from the Russian *charge-d'affaires*, is too important, and embraces too many objects, to suffer it to be unnoticed. He observed, that as both Prussia and Austria, the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German Empire, understood that the French Government was sufficiently au-

thorized to arrest, at only two leagues distant from her frontier, French rebels, who conspired against their own country, the German princes having been thus satisfied, the First Consul would have nothing to say to the Emperor of Russia in a point which did not, in the least, concern his interest: but, he continued, "If it be the intention of his Majesty to recommence the war, what needis there for empty pretences? Much as the renewal of the war would grieve the First Consul, he knew no man in the world who could put France in fear—no man whom he would suffer to interfere in the internal concerns of his country." But M. Talleyrand's Note went further, and, we believe with strict truth, accused Russia of maintaining spies, and authors of plots, both at Dresden and Rome, for the purpose of disquieting neighbouring states. In reality, as these circumstances had been complained of before, there was little reason, as some did, to object that they were unjust recriminations on the part of France: besides, the Treaty of Luneville stipulated, that no asylum should be allowed in the German Empire, to any of those men who could possibly disturb the respective tranquillity of Germany and France; this circumstance shewed the impropriety and officiousness of the conduct of Russia. "France," says M. Talleyrand, "required of Russia, the removal of French Emigrants who were in the Russian employ during the war, and this, from countries where they rendered themselves conspicuous only by their intrigues, and Russia insists upon maintaining them there; and the remonstrance she now makes, leads to this question:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I. (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier,) would not pains have been taken to arrest them? the First Consul hopes that his Imperial Majesty, whose excellent mind and noble character are so well known, will, sooner or later, perceive that there are men who avail themselves of every means

to raise enemies to France, and who, thereby, seek to make a diversion, and re-kindle the flames of a war, which is advantageous only to England."

But this Note did not, by any means, satisfy the Emperor of Russia; the fact was, that he would be a champion, but, though determined to fight, he was still not so foolhardy as to begin before he had called the German Empire to his assistance. But though this representation, and the professions of the Emperor of Russia, laid the foundations of a new war, the flame, thus kindled, was some time before it broke out. After various representations and recriminations on both sides, the Russian minister, D'Oubril, who began only with remonstrating upon the proceedings against the Duke D'Enghien, concluded by adding several new demands. In the middle of July, he threw them into the following diplomatic form:

"The undersigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands be previously complied with.

I. "That the French Government shall cause its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and, when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the present, and any future war.

II. "That the French Government shall promise to establish, immediately, some principle of concert with his Imperial Majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted.

III. "That it shall engage to indemnify, without delay, the King of Sardinia, for the losses he has sustained.

IV. "That the French Government shall promise, immediately, to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic Body.

"The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his Government, to demand a categorical answer to these four points."

"D'Oubril."

The answer thus demanded was given, and the consequence was, that M. D'Oubril made preparations for leaving Paris; but, in the meanwhile, as one of the great powers had thus led the way, France found herself doomed to hear language still more offensive and hostile from Sweden. Accordingly, on the 27th of July, a Note was presented by the Swedish minister at Ratisbon, in which the King, as Duke of Interior Pomerania, very strongly protested against the seizure of the Duke D'Enghien, and called upon the Germanic Body, to unite and obtain satisfaction from France, for the violation of its territory, &c. In this Note, the King of Sweden not only urged his being a member of the Germanic Constitution, but also a guarantee of the Treaty of Westphalia: circumstances at that time, considering what had happened to the Empire, just as chimerical as if his Majesty George III. was, at this present moment, to insist upon the validity of his honorary title, as King of France!

But this vague reasoning of the King of Sweden, did not long pass unnoticed in the *Moniteur*. That paper, for the 14th of August, accused him of inconsistency and folly; of intermeddling in a thankless office, when he could do neither good nor harm; of insulting his father-in-law, the Elector of Baden, in his capital of Carlsruhe; and of acting in a manner highly prejudicial to the interests of his brother-in-law, the Elector of Bavaria, while he, the King, resided at Munich; and of having abandoned the Danes, his allies, before the bombardment of Copenhagen, by the English. France, it was then said, was quite indifferent to all his steps; she knew how to discriminate between a loyal and brave people, justly called, the French of the North, and a young man, led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection. The answer to these charges, and particularly the *wording* and the personality of the Article, are so extraordinary in diplomatic correspondence, that we cannot omit giving it as follows, intire:

"His Majesty the King of Sweden, has received a report of the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which *Monsieur Napoleon Buonaparté* has allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur* of the 4th of August, under the article Ratisbon. The tone, the style, and even the subject of this Article, are all of so extraordinary a nature, that his Majesty has been, yet, hardly able to comprehend the object of such an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of misleading the public as to the conduct of his Majesty, as it appears from the uncommon pains that are taken to draw a line of separation between his Majesty and his subjects, let the world understand, that any instigation to that effect never could have been less likely to succeed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whose interests are bound up with those of a sovereign, who has never separated his prosperity from theirs, and who never feels so happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happiness of his subjects. As his Majesty cannot, consistent with his own dignity, or the honour of his crown, permit any official intercourse, after such an insult, he has ordered me, Sir, to communicate to you, that, from this day, all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to cease between the French Legation at Stockholm, and his Majesty's Government. As a sentence in the Article above-mentioned, seems to imply that the French Government is disposed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourse between Sweden and France, would be attended with some advantages; his Majesty, on his part, is willing to permit the same, from those sentiments of esteem which he has always entertained for the French people; sentiments which he has inherited from his ancestors, and which owe their origin to far happier times.

(Signed) "T. D. EHRENHEIM."

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Immediately after this, an Order was issued at Stockholm, whereby all French journals, of every description, and all future French publications, were strictly prohibited from being imported into Sweden.

Notwithstanding all this violence and impetuosity on the part of the *members*, the Emperor, the presumed *Head* of the Empire, was not quite so hasty in espousing their quarrels, or entering the lists with Napoleon. Francis, indeed, having felt that he was completely despoiled of most of his former blushing honours; and that he was in reality, no longer Emperor of Germany, yet, still resolved not to lose a whit of his former *nominal* dignity, had determined upon assuming the new title of Emperor of Austria. Here too, it was necessary to go through several forms, which required some time to accomplish. However, on the 11th of August, a Royal Patent appeared, dated from Vienna, in which the Emperor declares, that, after the example of Russia, in the preceding century, and that which was then given to him by the new Sovereign of France, he had determined, after mature reflection, to assume, for himself and his successors, the title and dignity of Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

According to this supreme decision and declaration we decree and enact:

"That immediately after our title of elected King of the Romans, shall be inserted that of Hereditary Emperor of Austria, after which shall follow our other titles of King of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.: then those of Archduke of Austria, Duke of Styria, &c. and those of the other hereditary countries."

This title, in imitation of that which Napoleon had been supposed to have conferred upon himself, was very quietly assumed in the Cabinet; but it will very soon appear that both of them, were yet to be contended for, and either lost or confirmed in the field.

In fact, the Emperor of Russia was known to be preparing for war; and as the English ministers had imprudently boasted of the good disposition of Austria, through the medium of the public prints, it required no uncommon sagacity to anticipate the storm that followed.

THE END OF CHAP. VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

St. Domingo lost to the French....The Spirit of mercantile Monopoly personified as the Genius of the present War. ....The flaming Proclamation of Dessalines'; his empty Boasting and Cruelty....Contrast in the Character and Fate of Toussaint....Toussaint's Duplicity the Cause of his Misfortunes... His Majesty's Illness....The Policy of Fast Days....Singular Form of public Prayer....The ostensible Object of the War changed in the Course of a few Months....Of the French small Craft in the Ports of Flushing, Ostend, &c....Sir Sidney Smith's Engagement with the Flotilla under Admiral Verheul....The Candour of Sir, Sidney's Dispatches....Reflections, &c.

AS it soon appeared, to every man of moral or political discernment, that the present was a mercantile war; so it happened that this base, avaricious, monopolizing spirit, soon found ample means of gratification: not only several hundreds of French and Dutch merchatmen, at sea when hostilities commenced, fell under its gripe, but their Colonies also promised to become so easy a prey, that, to use a scriptural metaphor, they were like ripe figs, that only needed to be shaken to fall into the hands of the shaker; as almost every day brought intelligence thus gratifying to a description of persons who never reckon upon any thing beyond their present enjoyment or their immediate gartification: to the eye of reason they seemed like the Fox in the Fable; whose enormous gorging having puffed him out to such an unwieldy degree, that he was too large to repass through the hole by which he had entered, he, of course, became an easy victim to the Master of the poultry, upon which he had gluttonized: this must also, infallibly, be the end of a war of merchants and monopolists.—Trading Monopoly

is a creature all stomach and belly, with innumerable claws, a very little head, and no brain: such a creature as this has been the presiding genius of the present war. But to return—The supplies of the island of St. Domingo being quite cut off by the British cruizers, the French troops, pressed on the land side by the Blacks, were compelled to surrender themselves to the British squadron, and, by becoming our prisoners, their lives were secured; so that General Rochambeau, and a number of his officers, were brought to England. In consequence of this turn of success, Dessalines, the Black Chief, found himself strong enough to issue a proclamation; which, for boldness of language and brevity of expression, seemed rather the production of France than the islands; of which the following is the substance:

"Crimes," says he, "the most atrocious, such as were until then, unheard of, and would cause nature to shudder, have been perpetrated: the measure was overheaped. At length the hour of vengeance has arrived, and the implacable enemies of the rights of man have suffered the punishment due to their crimes! yes, we have rendered to these true cannibals war for war, crime for crime, outrage for outrage: yes, I have saved my country; I have avenged America. The preservation of my unfortunate brothers, the testimony of my own conscience, are not my only recompense: I have seen two classes of men, born to cherish, assist, and succour one another, mixed in a world, and blended together, crying for vengeance, and disputing the honour of the first blow. Blacks and Yellows! whom the refined duplicity of Europeans has for a long time, endeavoured to divide; you, who are now consolidated, and make but one family! without doubt it was necessary that our perfect reconciliation should be sealed with the blood of your butchers: maintain that precious concord, that happy harmony amongst yourselves; it is the pledge of your happiness, your salvation,

and your success; it is the secret of being invincible. Shall I again recal to your memory the plots lately framed at Jeremie! the deplorable fate of our departed brothers in Europe! Tremble, tyrants! usurpers! scourges of the new world! our daggers are sharpened! your punishment is ready! Sixty thousand men, equipped, inured to war, obedient to my orders, burn to offer a new sacrifice to the manes of their assassinated brothers! Let that nation come who may be mad and daring enough to attack me!

"Already, at its approach, the irritated Genius of Hayti, arising out of the bosom of the ocean, appears! his menacing aspect throws the waves into commotion, excites tempests, and with his mighty hand disperses ships, or dashes them in pieces; to his formidable voice the laws of nature pay obedience: diseases, plagues, famine, conflagration, poison, are his constant attendants. But why calculate on the assistance of the climate and of the elements? have I forgot that I commanded a people of no common cast, brought up in adversity, whose audacious daring frowns at obstacles and increases by dangers? Let them come, then, these homicidal cohorts! I wait for them with firmness and with a steady eye. I abandon to them, freely, the sea shore, and places where cities have existed; but woe to those who may approach too near the mountains! it were better for them that the sea received them in its profound abyss, than to be devoured by the anger of the Children of Hayti! 'War, to death, to tyrants! this is my motto. 'Liberty! independence!' this is our rallying cry.

"As it is derogatory to my character and my dignity to punish the innocent for the crimes of the guilty; a handful of Whites, commendable by the religion they have always professed, and who have, besides, taken the oath to live with us in the woods, have experienced my clemency: I order, that the sword respect them and that they be unmolested. I recommend anew, and order, to all the generals of departments, &c. to grant succours,

encouragement, and protection, to all neutral and friendly nations, who may wish to establish commercial relations in this island."

Unfortunately for the people of Hayti, this flaming Proclamation proved little more than an empty sound. Dessalines seemed to forget that he had not yet driven the Philistines quite out of the land: the Spaniards, who were still in the French interest, remained in possession of the city and port of St. Domingo; and it appeared that the French troops, which afterwards occupied that city, under General Ferrand, were too powerful, and too well skilled in the arts of annoyance and defence, to be driven out, even by the sixty thousand warriors, of which the infuriated Dessalines had boasted. He also addressed a proclamation to the Spaniards in that city, and, like a mere braggart, talked of burying the French they had with them under the ruins of that capital, and of pursuing them to their intrenchments: but the fact is, that, to the present moment to these intrenchments neither Dessalines, nor his successors, could ever yet approach without being repulsed and defeated: what Dessalines threatened to execute in fifteen days is not likely to be performed in fifteen years!

Dessalines, in the end, proved a worse tyrant than his predecessors: he is said to have retorted upon the Europeans by an universal massacre; no less than twenty-six thousand Whites are said to have been put to death by his order! he had, also, issued orders, denouncing death against any of his subjects who should marry, or even keep, a White woman! still, if some few were left alive, they were only as objects for gratifying the passions. With a view also to enjoy his short-lived dignity, he is said to have coined money, established a Legion of Honour, and styled himself Emperor of Hayti. In fact, his conduct, both cruel and absurd, gave occasion to remark, "That, in preventing the French from reducing that

island, the Englisgh had done irreparable injury to their own Colonies."

Very different from this tyrant was the more humane, but ill-fated, Toussaint L'Overture! We have, before, related his surrender to, and seizure by General Leclerc, who sent him to France. On this occasion a sensible writer observed: "Toussaint gave himself to the Conqueror of Marengo; and what was done with him, God, and a few confidential friends, only know!"

Some account of Toussaint may not be disagreeble to our readers, now we have mentioned his death, or his political disappearance. He was originally a slave, but a native of St. Domingo; being born on the estate of the *ci-devant* Count de Noe, about four miles from Cape François; but he was near fifty years of age when he came into notice. He had, by his own industry, learned to read and write: Monsieur Bayon, the overseer, took him to be his coachman, and, some time after, gave him the charge of a number of slaves. On the breaking out of the troubles Toussaint kept aloof from intrigue, and was never accused of offering violence to any of the Whites, who were massacred in 1791, upon the first breaking out of the troubles: but as Biasson, one of the Black chiefs, succeeded in his designs and took up arms, Toussaint fled to his camp, and acted as secretary, adviser, or agent. In this new office Toussaint found scope for his genius: he displayed a surprising talent for military affairs, so that he was soon raised to the rank of Captain in the Guards, and his next step was to the command of a division: in this rank he was, when the war breaking out between Spain and France, the former powed engaged him and Jean François in their service: and now Toussaint found himself a Lieutenant-general of the armies of the King of Spain, in their part of St Domingo, called Hispaniola. Polverel and Santhonax, two commissioners from the Council of Five Hundred, en-

deavoured to draw these two Black officers into the service of the Republic, and this they, at length effected. The first act of Toussaint's, which ingratiated him with the Republicans, was his releasing General Lavaux from prison, in Cape François, into which he had been thrown by the seditious, and was intended to have been their victim. This unexpected event raised Toussaint so high, that Lavaux proclaimed him "The Avenger of the Contituted Authorities, and the Saviour of the White People!" The General farther complimented him, with being that Negro that Sparticus foretold, by the Abbé Raynal, who should avenge the wrongs of his own race. he was made General of Division and Lieutenant-governor of St. Domingo. It was, in fact, owing to the bravery of Toussaint, that Mirabalais, Grand Bois, and several other places, were wrested from the British: so that, in the course of one year, Toussaint was created General-in-Chief of the armies of St. Domingo; and his zeal and exploits were the subjects of eulogium in the tribune of the Council of Ancients, and all France was filled with his dazzling renown! This elevation turned the head of Toussaint; he now wished to get rid of the government Commissioner, by sending him home to France.—Toussaint had actually gained a number of officers over to his proposal: but Etienne Mentor, another negro, at that time Adjutant-general, steadily restisted it: he administered the oath of fidelity to the French Republic, and death to whomsoever might speak of separation from the Mother Country. As soon as Toussaint heard of this, he sent Christophe (the same who set fire to Cape François) to arrest him, and he was lodged in prison. This, however, did not terrify the officers who were attached to the Mother Country; and General Leveille and Colonel Gassonville loudly expressed their indignation at Toussaint's project, and even proposed to put him under an arrest: but as the first accuser is sometimes credited, whether right or wrong; so this was the

case with Toussaint: he sent agents to the Directory, to make them believe that Santhonax, the Commissioner, wanted to usurp the supreme power of the colony; and he triumphed over the Commissioner: in fact, the Directory were so much deceived, that they sent Toussaint presents of a costly dress, a superb sabre, and several pair of pistols!

But though Santhonax was withdrawn, and Toussaint's enemies were obliged to hide their heads at St. Domingo; the French Government, not choosing to leave the whole administration, civil and military, in his hands, sent General Hedouville, a man of good character and military knowledge, to assist in the administration of affairs: but Toussaint, in several instances, resisted his authority; for some of the British troops being then in the island, Toussaint signed the capitulation, which General Maitland was obliged to enter into, without the participation of General Hedouville, the lawful commissioner from the Mother Country: this, in the first instance, rendered Toussaint desperate, he deviated further and further from the line of his duty as a subject; so that, even after his surrender to General Leclerc, it is not strange that he should have intrigued for the recovery of his lost influence; and thus, wanting either fidelity or firmness, he could naturally expect no other treatment from the hands of the French Government than that which he had thus merited, as a dangerous or very weak man; who, when he might have had the First Consul for his friend, chose rather to make him his enemy.

That the aid of religion might not be wanting on this side of the water; or, rather, that the political part of the priesthood should have an opportunity, as pretended ministers of the gospel, to further the temporary views of the ministers of state, the 25th day of May, 1804, was proclaimed a day of solemn fasting and humiliation.—The Emperor of Russia had also, to express a regret for the Duke D'Enghien, and to shew his regard

for the ancient blood-royal of France, ordered all his ambassadors at foreign courts to go into mourning: the French Royalists in England, likewise, had a solemn mass performed for the repose of the soul of the Duke; and this the pliable English newspapers represented as an act of great piety! But what gave more weight to our own Fast was his Majesty's illness: on that account daily bulletins had long been issued at St. James's and the Mansion house, and which, at last, gave birth to two different Forms of Prayer; viz. an original and a corrected edition: but even this, though mean and servile to the Monarch, seems highly reproachful to the Almighty, as it represents him (as in the case of Charles the First, the church-made martyr!) smiting the King for the people, the just for the unjust! This extraordinary Address runs thus:

"Have mercy upon thy servant, our Sovereign! whom thou hast repeatedly smitten for the transgressions of his people. We acknowledge, that, for our manifold sins, we are worthy of the severity of thy judgments: yet we beseech thee, incline thine ear to us, when with penitent and contrite hearts we turn unto thee; and remove from our Sovereign, and from us, these dreadful visitations. We yield thee thanks and praise, O Lord! for thy great mercy already manifested towards us, in his recovery from his late dangerous sickness: confirm and establish, we beseech thee O Lord! the work which thou hast begun."

By the "dreadful visitations," specified in the Prayer, it is supposed that the possibility of an invasion was hinted at. "But who would have thought," as a sensible writer observed, "when the war had existed only a few months, that its ostensible object; viz. Malta, or foreign dominion, should have been given up, and the people be given to understand that it was then a war of domestic security? who would have thought of such a composition as public prayers and palisades, the formation of camps and con-

gregations? who, in that hour of bravado, ever thought a plan would be delivered out, by authority, for defending the Capital by lines of circumvallation? So that all the boast of those who made the war was—only the glory of being able to defend themselves!"

But much having been said, both in and out of parliament, in the course of the session, respecting the French small craft preparing, in their own and the ports of Holland, for the invasion of this country; (notwithstanding Mr Pitt had compared our navy to giants and theirs to pigmies) it was at length, thought proper to take some account of them.—Sir Sidney Smith being, accordingly, invested with a command, was stationed between Flushing and Ostend, where he soon had an opportunity of encountering the French flotilla, under the Dutch admiral Verheul. The following Dispatch, giving a detail of this transaction, is neither dishonourable to Sir Sidney nor the enemy with whom he was engaged.

DISPATCH

From Commodore SIR SIDNEY SMITH; *containing an Account of his Attack upon the French Flotilla; dated Antelope, at anchor off Ostend, May 17th: addressed to* LORD KEITH, *K. B. &c.*

"MY LORD,

"Information from all quarters, and the evident state of readiness in which the Enemy's armaments were, in Helvoet, Flushing, and Ostend, indicating the probability of a general movement from those ports, I reinforced Captain Manby, off Helvot, with one ship, and directed Captain Hancock, of the Cruiser, stationed in-shore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the squadron of gun-boats stationed off Ostend: the Antelope, Penelope, and Amiable, occupied a central position, in sight both of Flushing and Ostend, in anxious expectation of the enemy's appearance. Yesterday, at half past-five A. M. I received information from Captain Hancock, then off Ostend, that the enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier, and had already twenty-one, 1-masted vessels and one schooner

the satisfaction to see the Flushing flotilla, of fifty-nine sail; viz. two ship-rigged praams, nineteen schooners, and thirty-eight schuyts, steering along shore from that port towards Ostend, under circumstances which allowed me to hope I should be able to bring them to action. The signal was made in the Cruiser and Rattler for an enemy in the E.S.E. to call their attention from Ostend; the squadron weighed the moment the flood made and allowed of the heavier ships following them over the banks: the signals to chase and engage were obeyed with alacrity, spirit, and judgment, by the active and experienced officers your Lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason attacked this formidable line with the greatest gallantry and address, attaching themselves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themselves, independent of the cross-fire from the schooners and schuyts; I sent the Amiable, by signal, to support them. The Penelope having an able pilot, (Mr. Thornton) on signal being made to engage, Captain Broughton worked up to the centre of the enemy's line, as near as the shoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand to cut the van off from Ostend. Unfortunately, our gun-boats were not in sight, having, as I understood since, devoted their attention to preventing the Ostend division from moving Westward. The enemy attempted to get back to Flushing; but being harassed by the Cruiser and the Rattler, and the wind coming more easterly against them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet to the Westward, keeping close to the beach, under the protection of the batteries. Having found a passage for the Antelope within the Stroom Sand, she was enabled to bring her broadside to bear on the headmost schooners before they got the length of Ostend. The leader struck immediately and the crew deserted her; she was, however, recovered by the followers. The artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, kept up a constant and well directed fire for their support; our shot, however, which went over the schooners, going ashore, among the horse artillery, interrupted it in a degree; still, however, it was from the shore we received the greatest annoyance; for the schooners and schuyts crowding along could not bring their prow guns to bear without altering

their course towards us, which they could not venture; and their side guns, though numerous and well served, were very light. In this manner the Penelope and Antelope engaged every part of their long line from four to eight, while the Amiable, Cruiser, and Rattler, continued to press their rear. Since two o'clock the sternmost praam struck her colours and ran on shore; but the artillerymen from the army got on board, and she renewed her fire on the Amiable with the precision of a land battery, from which that ship suffered much. Captain Bolton speaks much in praise of Lieutenant Mather, who is wounded. Several of the schooners and schuyts, immediately under the fire of the ships, were driven on shore in like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling, and leaving us in little more water than we could draw, we were, reluctantly, obliged to haul off into deeper water to keep afloat, and the enemy's vessels that were not on shore, or too much shattered, were thus able to reach Ostend; these, and the Ostend division, have hauled into the basin. I have anchored in such a position as to keep an eye on them; and I shall endeavour to close with them again, if they move into deeper water. I have to regret, that, from the depth of water in which these vessels move, gun-boats only can act against them with effect; four have joined me, and I have sent them in to see what they can do with the praam that is on shore. I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to your Lordship, of the gallant and steady conduct of the captains, commanders, officers, seamen, and marines, under my orders. Captains Hancock and Mason bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for six hours against a great superiority of fire, particularly from the army on shore, the howitzer shells annoying them much. These officers deserve the highest praise I can give them; they speak of the conduct of their lieutenants, officers, and crews, in terms of warm panegyric. Messrs. Budd and Dalyell, from the Antelope, acted in the absence of two lieutenants of those ships. Lieutenants Garrety and Patful, commanding the Favourite and Stag cutters, did their best, with their small guns, against greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieutenant Hillier, of the Antelope, gave me all the assistance and support on her quarter-deck his ill-state of health would permit. Lieutenant Stokes, and Mr. Slesser, acting lieutenants, directed the fire on the lower and main decks,

with coolness and precision. It would be the highest injustice, if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the master Mr. Nunn and Mr. Webb, pilots, to whose steadiness, skill, and attention, particularly the former, I shall ever feel myself indebted, for having brought the Antelope into action within the sands, where certainly the enemy could not expect to be met by a ship of her size; and for having allowed her to continue engaged with Commodore Verheul, to the last minute it was possible to remain in such shoal water with a falling tide. It is but justice to say, the enemy's commodore pursued a steady course, notwithstanding our fire, and returned it with spirit to the last. I could not detach open boats in the enemy's line, to pick up those vessels which had struck, and were deserted, mixed as they were with those still firing. Captain Hancock sent me one schuyt that had hauled out of the line and surrendered. She had a lieutenant, and 23 soldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch seamen on board. She is so useful here I cannot part with her yet. Inclosed is a list of our loss; which, though great, is less than might have been expected, owing to the enemy's directing their fire at our masts. The Rattler and the Cruiser, have, of course, suffered most in the latter respect, but are nearly ready for service again. The smoke would not allow us to see the effect of our shot on the enemy; but their loss, considering the number of them under our guns for so long a time, must be great in proportion. We see the mast-heads above water of three of the schooners, and one of the schuyts, which were sunk.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Lord Keith, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

Return of Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in Action with the Enemy's Flotilla, May 16, 1804.

"Antelope: two seamen and one private marine wounded. Penelope: three seamen killed and four seamen wounded. Amiable: Mr. Christie, master's-mate, Mr. Johnson, midshipman, four seamen, and one boy, killed; Lieutenant W. Mather, Mr. Shawell, purser, Mr. Connor, midshipman, and 11 seamen, wounded. Cruiser: one seaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and three seamen,

wounded. Total: two petty officers, 10 seamen, and one boy, killed; one Lieutenant, one purser, four petty officers, 25 seamen, and one private marine, wounded.

W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Without recurring to the French account of this affair, which represents it as a matter of complete triumph; it is evident, from Sir Sidney's dispatch, that he could not arrest the enemy's progress, and that even the Amiable frigate was not able to cope with a single praam, merely, "because the artillerymen from the army got on board, when the said praam renewed her fire on the Amiable with the precision of a land battery!" This is a very singular acknowledgment of the *formidable nature of the French artillerymen from the army*. As a proof of the consequence that Buonaparté attached to this engagement; it is well known, that, from this period, the Dutch Admiral, Verheul, became a great favourite with him; and it is equally well known, and has been pretty well felt in Europe, that Buonaparté does not bestow his favours upon fools or coxcombs.

THE END OF CHAP. IX.

CHAPTER X.

Further Attempts upon the French Coast....The Constitution Cutter sunk before Boulogne....The murderous Nature of those Attacks elucidated from our own Dispatches ....The Catamaran Expedition....Fruitless Attempt at Calais....Blowing up and Seizure of the Spanish Treasure Ships....The dignified Sentiments of the Duke of Clarence on this Occasion....Spanish Declaration of War, and the Address of the Prince of Peace....Reflections.

WHILE the French Emperor was making a tour to his different sea-ports, to Aix-la-Chapelle, and other places, it seems that our squadron, cruising off Boulogne, chose the moment he was at that port to attack a part of the flotilla that had ventured out of the road. The French justly boasted that no serious impression was made by this attempt; as some proof of this, our own accounts allow that the Constitution cutter was sunk, though the crew was saved; but, as usual, whenever we sustained any damage in these sort of attempts, according to the gazettes and the newspapers, it was never from the ships, but always from the batteries on shore, to which they, unwillingly, imputed an amazing degree of dexterity, in being thus able to avoid their own, and only to strike our vessels, which were beyond them!

The murderous nature of these engagements, and the degree of equality that the French possessed in fighting their small craft this way, will more plainly appear in the following Letters from Captains Owen and Hancock.

Immortalité, off Boulogne, Oct 23.

"SIR,

"Being off Cape Grisnez, and proceeding to my station before Boulogne, I, this afternoon, about half-past-three, discovered a division of the enemy's vessels, consisting of three praam ships, seven

brigs, and fifteen luggers, which soon after bore up to the Westward keeping close to the beach, under cover of their batteries, and accompanied by horse artillery, making the best of their way to shelter themselves within the Blanc de Laine. By making all sail to windward, I was enabled to close the praams (which kept together) about a quarter before five, and to open my fire upon them within the distance of grape shot, under the high land of Cape Blanc Nez, the enemy still pushing to the Westward, and returning at first a brisk fire, but it, latterly, slackened much. This running fight continued till near six; when, having been thrice obliged to sheer out into deeper water, we found ourselves still within the end of the Blanc de Laine, where the falling tide prevented us from following them, and obliged us to haul off. Our little Calais squadron was to windward following the enemy, of which the Orestes and Basilisk joined me in the first attack, giving me every support and assistance during the whole of the action; their commanders gave me much satisfaction in conducting them. The other vessels of that squadron did not get within gun-shot. I endeavoured to close the enemy again, as they passed from behind the Blanc to round Cape Grisnez, and did get sight of a few of the vessels; but though we passed within half gun-shot of the Cape, they were so effectually screened from our sight by the dark shade of the land that I could do nothing, and am unable to say whether the whole number got down to Boulogne, or whether (as I suspect) a part of them anchored in Whitsand Bay. It is not possible for me to speak too highly of the conduct of every officer and every man; each, in his station, gave me the fullest satisfaction: but it gives me serious pain to to add, that of these brave follows, one was killed, and ten wounded (three mortally) besids the third lieutenant, Charles Burrough Strong, of whose assistance I was deprived before a shot wasfired by us,

Iam, &c. &c.

"E. W. C. R. Owen."

"P. S. From the manner in which our grape-shot covered the enemy's vessels, their loss in men must be very great. I never saw guns pointed better or so coolly."

Another Letter, transmitted by Lord Keith from Captain Hancock, of the Cruiser, states, "That part of the

enemy's flotilla, consisting of two praam ships, bearing the flag of Chief of Division, and both under French colours, with 18 schuyts, put to sea from Ostend, on the 23rd. At this time, the Cruiser sloop, the Blazer, Conflict, Tigress, Admiral Mitchell, Griffin, and Escort gun-brigs, were standing in to reconnoitre that port. The Cruiser brought the headmost praam ship to close action at fifteen minutes past five, supported by the gun-brigs and cutters, and continued it, with great apparent effect, till thirty-five minutes past six. It falling dark, and being in less than three fathoms water, the Conflict took ground, and the tide left her so rapidly, that every effort Lieutenant Ormsby used to get her afloat was unsuccessful, and he was under the necessity of quitting her, with his people, who came on board the Cruiser. Captain Hancock immediately ordered him, with his people, back to the Conflict, to use every exertion to get her afloat when the tide made, or to destroy her. He sent the Admiral Mitchell cutter to assist and protect him; and the Cruiser's boats were sent under Mr. Fothergill, master of the Cruiser. The ebb-tide prevented the boats getting in for a considerable time; when they had got near, they had the mortification to find the Conflict high and dry on the beach, and in complete possession of the enemy. His boats accordingly returned to the Cruiser at two A. M. making their report of the state of the Conflict. Captain Hancock, still determined to prevent the Conflict from getting into the hands of the enemy, sent a party, under Lieutenant Forbes, to attack her; but the enemy had got her up on the beach, and the party returned. On this occasion the cutter received very considerable damage in standing in, from the howitzers and field artillery, which the enemy had collected on the beach during the night, by which one man was killed and several wounded. Amongst the latter, Lieutenant A. Garland, acting Lieutenant of the Cruiser, lost his right leg, very

high up; he was, with admirable gallantry, with his party, getting into the boats to board the enemy, even under the discouraging circumstances of her being still aground, when he received the wound. One of the praams, was observed by the boats to be high and dry on the beach, at ten o'clock this morning, to the Westward of the Conflict, but she got off, I apprehend, at high water, and proceeded to the Westward. The Conflict was irrecoverably lost.

We should have noticed the Catamaran Expedition previously to the more serious *rencontres* in which Captain Owen and his squadron were engaged, as this famous experiment was tried on the 3rd of October; but, though first in point of time, we judged it last in its importance or consequence. These Catamarans, which were to burn the French ships in their harbours, were, in reality, little more than caissoons filled with combustibles and powder; and fire-ships to be sent among the French boats, thus to blow up some, sink others, and set the remainder on fire. To put this promising plan into execution, Admiral Keith made sail with his fleet in the Downs, taking with him the First Lord of the Admiralty to witness the glorious ruin. Even the night favoured their views; the caissoons were towed as near as possible to the boats, and went off, from a contrivance of clock work, making a prodigious noise and explosion; the fire-ships, soon after, increasing the confusion: the batteries on shore, and the British ships of war, kept up a constant fire on each other.

According to the English newspapers, those undeviating oracles of deception, 150 gun-boats had been sunk or destroyed; more accurate accounts continually diminished this advantage; till, at last, it appeared, that the real number of the French boats was scarcely, if it all, diminished! Thus the immense fortifications constructed upon our coast, and the expensive species of warfare carried on by us upon that of France, was ruinous in

several respects; while the loss of the French was confined to a few gun-boats, occasionally sunk or run aground.

Admiral Keith's dispatches mention, that, when he arrived off Boulogne upon this business, he found about 150 of the enemy's vessels on the *outside* of the pier. In the same dispatches he says "The service was undertaken not only in the face of, but *immediately* under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, their field artillery and musketry upon the coast, and 150 armed vessels, ranged round the *inner* side of the bay." Query, are these the same that were on the *outside* of the pier; or, were the British absolutely between two squadrons, consisting of 300 sail of French, without being able to destroy them with their caissoons, fire-ships, &c.? However this may be, the French allow that some few of their people were destroyed by the bursting of some of our combustibles; but, notwithstanding the silence of Lord Keith on this occasion, they assert that his squadron returned to Deal and Dover with about 200 men less than he brought out with him.

In the beginning of December another attempt was made upon the French coast; viz. to blow up a part of Fort Rouge at Calais, when an explosion vessel was fired; but not being able to get sufficiently near, it does not appear to have done any effectual injury to the enemy.

This year was, indeed, fruitful in maritime operations. We had an ambassador at the Court of Madrid: we had a fleet upon the Spanish coast, which was victualled and supplied with fresh provisions, &c. every day, from Cadiz, in the most friendly manner; but the cruel and avaricious spirit of gain, that had entered into all the plans of Mr. Pitt, having suggested to him the easy manner in which we might get possession of some Spanish frigates, then returning home, laden with treasure; it was determined, without scruple, to sacrifice both the laws of honour and

hospitality. Captain Moore, of the Indefatigable, was dispatched to lie in wait for the unsuspecting squadron; and the following is the official account of that transaction, which he transmitted to Admiral Cornwallis.

Indefatigable at Sea, Oct. 6, 1804.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that I have executed the service you did me the honour to charge me with. On the morning of the 29th of September the Indefatigable got off Cadiz; on the 30th we fell in with the Medusa; Captain Gore having informed me the Amphion was in the Strait's mouth, and that the Triumph was off Gibraltar, and that Sir Robert Barlow meant to go into Cadiz, for the trade there, on his way to England; I thought fit to send the Medusa to apprise Sir Robert Barlow of the nature of my order, that he might then judge whether or not he should go into Cadiz; and I directed Captain Gore to rejoin me with the Amphion as soon as possible, off Cape St. Mary. On the 2nd inst. I was joined by the Lively, and on the 3rd by the Medusa and Amphion; the latter having communicated what I thought necessary to Sir Robert Barlow. Yesterday morning, Cape St. Mary, bearing N. E. nine leagues, the Medusa made the signal for four sail W. by S. I made the signal for a general chace; at 8 A. M. discovered them to be four large Spanish frigates, which formed the line of battle ahead on our approach, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, the vanship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next to her a rear-admiral's flag. Captain Gore, being the head-most ship, placed the Medusa on the weather-beam of the Commodore; the Indefatigable took a similar position alongside of the Rear-admiral; the Amphion and Lively each taking an opponent in the same manner, as they came up. After hailing, to make them shorten sail, without effect, I fired a shot across the Rear-admiral's fore-foot, on which he shortened sail; and I sent Lieutenant Ascott, of the Indefatigable, to inform him, that my orders were to detain his squadron; that it was my earnest wish to execute them without bloodshed; but that his determination must be made instantly: after waiting some time, I made a signal for the boat, and fired a shot ahead of the Admiral. As soon as the officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, I fired another shot ahead of

the Admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow. At this moment the Admiral's second astern fired into the Amphion; the Admiral fired into the Indefatigable; and I made the signal for close battle, which was instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of English sailors. In less than ten minutes, La Mercedes, the Admiral's second astern, blew up, alongside the Amphion, with a tremendous explosion. Captain Sutton having, with great judgment, and much to my satisfaction, placed himself to leeward of that ship, the escape of the Spanish Admiral's ship was rendered almost impossible; in less than half an hour she struck, as did the opponent of the Lively. Perceiving at this moment the Spanish Commodore was making off, and seeming to have the heels of the Medusa, I made the signal for the Lively to join in the chase, having before noticed the superior sailing of that ship. Captain Hammond did not lose an instant; and we had the satisfaction, long before sunset, to see from our masthead that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the Medusa and Lively. As soon as our boats had taken possession of the Rear-admiral, we made sail for the floating fragments of the unfortunate Spanish frigate which blew up; but, excepting forty, taken up by the Amphion's boats, all on board perished! This squadron was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral. They are from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata; and, from the information of the captain of the flag-ship, contained about four millions of dollars, 800,000 of which were on board the Mercedes, which blew up. Other accounts state the quantity of specie to be much greater, public and private; and there is, besides, much valuable merchandise on board the captured ships. Our loss has been very trifling: I have not yet had the returns from other ships, but the Indefatigable did not lose a man. The Spaniards suffered chiefly in their rigging, which was our object. The captains of the different ships conducted themselves so ably, that no honour accrues to me, but the fortunate accident of being senior officer.

"G. Moore."

Force of the Spanish Squadron

La Medée (flag ship) 42 guns, 18-pounders, and 300 men, taken; two men killed, and ten wounded. La Fama, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, taken; eleven killed, and fifty wounded. La Clara,

36 guns, 12-pounders, and 300 men, taken; seven killed, and twenty wounded. La Mercedes, 36 guns, 12-pounders, and 280 men, blew up; second captain and forty men saved.

A most melancholy circumstance took place in consequence of the explosion of the Mercedes, one of the Spanish squadron. In it was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from America with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of twenty-five years industry, did this unhappy man embark for his native country. A short time before the action began, he, with one of his sons, went on board the largest of the ships, and, in a few minutes, became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean! This victim of almost unheard of calamity arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

Doubtless, the nation at large would have been most sensibly affected at the calamity thus inflicted, had not all the tools of corruption been set to work, in the public papers, to represent that the seizure of the Spanish money was only a measure of necessity and precaution, to prevent it from falling into the hands of Buonaparté. This wretched kind of reasoning passed very well at Lloyd's Coffee-house and at the Stock Exchange, but the disinterested and more exalted classes of people were ashamed of it: even the Duke of Clarence, who had never been a systematic opposer of the ministry, had the courage and independence of mind to declare, some time after, in the House of Lords, "that the ministry had begun the present war with Spain by *an act of piracy and murder!*"

Those who planned this daring act, it seems, had flattered themselves that it might possibly have the effect of detaching the Spaniards by one blow, as it were, from their alliance with Buonaparté, and induce them, rather than risk all their wealth at sea, to throw themselves into the arms of Britain: the same hopes were entertained when the late daring attack was made upon Copenhagen, and the same disappointment and accumulated disasters occurred in both cases: Spanish honour, weakened as the nation had been by a long war with France, and humbled as it was by the afflicting hand of Providence, still rose superior to all thoughts of accommodating the insult it had received. The Court of Spain did not even hesitate about preferring war: and, on the 12th of December, the Madrid Gazette contained the following

DECLARATION.

"The Peace, which Europe beheld with so much delight re-established at Amiens, has, unfortunately for the welfare of nations, proved but of short duration: the rejoicings, with which this happy event was celebrated upon all sides, were scarcely concluded, when the public satisfaction began to be troubled, and the advantage of the peace to disappear. The Cabinets of London and Paris held Europe suspended and agitated between its terrors and its hopes; seeing the event of the negociations every day become more uncertain, until the moment that discord arrived at such an height as to kindle between them the fire of a war, which must naturally extend itself to other powers; since it was very difficult for Spain and Holland, who had treated jointly with France at Amiens, and whose interests and political relations are so reciprocally connected, to avoid, finally, taking part in the grievances and offences offered to their Ally. In these circumstances, his Majesty, supported by the most solid principles of a wise policy, preferred pecuniary subsidies to the contingent of troops and ships, with which he was bound to assist France, in virtue of the treaty of alliance in 1796; and, as well by means of his Minister in London as of the English agents at Madrid, he gave the British Government to understand, in the most positive

manner, his decided and firm resolution to remain neutral during the war; making no doubt that he should quickly have the satisfaction of seeing that these ingenuous assurances were well received by the Court of London. Nevertheless, that cabinet, which must have resolved, in silence, beforehand, for its own particular ends, upon the renovation of the war with Spain, and which it was always able to declare, not with the forms and solemnities prescribed by the law of nations, but by means of positive aggressions, which should turn to its own profit, sought the most frivolous pretexts to bring into doubt the conduct of Spain, which was truly neutral, and to give demonstrations, at the same time, to the desires of his Britannic Majesty to preserve the peace; all with the intention of gaining time, cajoling the Spanish Government, and holding in uncertainty the opinion of the English nation upon its own premeditated and unjust designs, which could in no manner be approved by that nation. Thus it is, that, in London, it appeared artfully to accept various reclamations from Spanish individuals, which were addressed to it; while its agents in Madrid magnified the pacific intentions of their own sovereign: but they never shewed themselves satisfied with the frankness and friendship with which all their notes were answered, rather anxious for proclaiming and magnifying armaments which had no existence; and pretending, contrary to the most positive protests on the part of Spain, that the pecuniary succours given to France were not merely an equivalent for the troops and ships, which were stipulated in the treaty of 1796, but an indefinite and immense stock, which did not permit them to consider Spain in any other light than as a principal party in the war. Moreover, as there was not time entirely to banish the illusion under which they laboured, they exacted, as the precise conditions upon which they would consider Spain as neutral, the cessation of every armament in her ports, and a prohibition of the sale of prizes brought into them: and, notwithstanding that both of these conditions, although urged in a tone superlatively haughty and unusual in political transactions, were immediately complied with, and religiously observed, they persisted, nevertheless, to manifest their want of confidence, and they quitted Madrid with eagerness, immediately after receiving dispatches from their Court, of which they did not communicate a particle of the contents. The

connexion, which results from all this, between the conduct of the Cabinets of London and Madrid, must be sufficient to shew clearly to all Europe, the bad faith, and the secret and perverse aims, of the English ministry; even if they had not manifested them by the abominable crime of the surprise, battle, and capture, of the Four Spanish Frigates; which, navigating in the full security which peace inspires, were fraudulently attacked, in consequence of orders from the English Government; signed in the very moment in which it was, faithlessly exacting conditions, for the prolongation of the peace, in which every possible security was given to it, and in which its own vessels were provided with provisions and refreshments in the ports of Spain: those very vessels, which were enjoying the most perfect hospitality, and were experiencing the fidelity with which Spain was proving to England the good faith of her engagements, and how firm her resolutions were to maintain her neutrality—those very ships carried, concealed in the bosoms of their commanders, the unjust orders of the English Cabinet for assaulting Spanish property on the seas—iniquitous orders, and profusely circulated; since all its vessels of war, on the seas of America and Europe, were already detaining and carrying into its harbours as many Spanish vessels as they met with, without respecting even the cargoes of grain, which were coming from all parts, to succour a faithful nation in a year of the greatest calamity. Barbarous orders! (since they deserve no other name,) to sink every Spanish ship under an hundred tons; to burn those which they found on shore on the coast; and to make prize of, and carry to Malta, those only which exceeded an hundred tons! The master of a land, of Valentia, of fifty-four tons, has made this declaration: That he effected his escape in his launch upon the 16th of November, on the coast of Catalonia, when his vessel was sunk by an English vessel, whose captain took from him his papers and his flag; and informed him, that he had received these express instructions from his Court. In spite of such atrocious actions, which proved, to perfect evidence, the covetous and hostile views which the English Cabinet had meditated, it was still able to carry on further its perfidious system of blinding the public opinion; alledging, for this purpose, that the Spanish frigates had not been carried into the English ports in quality of prizes, but as being detained until

Spain should give the desired securities, that she would observe the strictest neutrality. And what greater securities could, or ought, Spain to give? what civilized nation, until this hour, has made use of means so unjust and violent to exact securities of another? Although England should find, at last, any claim to exact from Spain, in what manner could she justify it after a similar atrocity? what satisfaction could she be able to give for the lamentable destruction of the frigate Mercedes, with all its cargo, its equipage, and the great number of distinguished passengers who have perished, the innocent victims of a policy so detestable? Spain could not comply, with what she owes to herself, nor think herself able to maintain her well known honour and dignity amongst the greatest powers of Europe, were she any longer to shew herself insensible to such manifest outrages, and did not take care to revenge them with the nobleness and energy which belong to her character. Animated with these sentiments, the magnanimous breast of the King, after having exhausted (in order to preserve the peace) all the resources compatible with the dignity of his crown, finds himself in the hard predicament of making war upon the King of England, upon his subjects, and people; omitting the formalities of style by a solemn declaration and publication, owing to the English Cabinet's having begun and continued to make the war without declaring it. In consequence, after having given orders for an embargo, by way of reprisal, upon all English property in his dominions, and that the most convenient instructions, both for his own defence and the offence of the enemy, should be circulated to his viceroys, captains-general, and great officers of the marine; his Majesty has commanded his minister in London to retire, with all the Spanish legation; and his Majesty does not doubt, that all his subjects, inflamed with that just indignation, with which the violent proceedings of England must inspire them, will not omit any of all those means to which their valour shall prompt them, of co operating with his Majesty towards the most complete vengeance for the insult offered to the Spanish flag."

The rest of this Declaration relates to the arming of corsairs, &c.

Extract from the Address of his Excellency the Prince of Peace, Generalissimo of his Catholic Majesty's Forces,

to the Fleets, Armies, and People, of Spain. Issued at Madrid, December 10, 1804.

"The King has condescended to submit to me, as Generalissimo of the Royal Armies, the conduct of the war commenced with Great Britain; and he commands, that all the principal officers of his dominions correspond privately with me on the subject connected with the event. To comply with the terms of the confidence reposed in me, and to fulfil the honourable duties enjoined me in the supreme authority over his gallant troops, with which I am invested; it is expedient that I call into activity my loyal zeal in his cause, and adopt the most effectual means to discharge this high and important office. It is universally known, that, when we were in a state of profound peace with England, hostilities were commenced by that country, by the capture of three frigates; one was destroyed in the contest; a regiment of infantry, destined for Minorca, was made prisoners; many vessels, laden with grain, were taken; and others, under the burthen of 100 tons, were destroyed. When were these robberies, these acts of treachery and assassination, committed? when our Sovereign admitted the ships of that nation to a free and undisturbed commerce, and gave the necessary supplies to the ships of war! What profligacy and degradation in the one; what honour and dignity in the other! On the view of this perfidy, is there a Spaniard whose indignation is not excited? is there a soldier who will not grasp the weapon of destruction? Brave Seamen! 300 of your brethren have had their mangled members scattered to the winds! one thousand are deprived of the light of heaven, in the dungeons of your enemies! Valiant Soldiers! an equal number of your companions in arms are deprived of the swords they knew how to wield, and are carried to a remote island; where they will either perish with hunger, or be constrained to unite with the ranks of the detested

foe! Remember, then, your sacred obligations. Generous Spaniards! a few innocent and defenceless Fishermen are reduced to the lowest step of human misery, and their afflicted wives, and deserted offspring, implore your pity, and demand your protection. In fine, thousands of families, expecting support from the wisdom of the state, in a season of famine, are brutally deprived of the subsistence provided for them; and exclaim, with the voice of thunder, "Vengeance; Vengeance!" Let us, then, my Countrymen! obey; the King expects it, and honour and justice require it at our hands. If the English have forgotten that the blood which circulates in the veins of Spaniards, is the same which flowed in the breasts of those who triumphed over the Carthaginian, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Saracen, it is time that the recollection should be revived: it is time to convince them that we will preserve the fame of our ancestors unsullied, and shew to them, that we will perform our duty to posterity, if it require that our ranks should be thinned, to add to the glorious catalogue of Castillian heroism. If these distant Islanders have attributed our desire to preserve tranquillity within our borders to lamentable weakness, or to dishonourable fear, let them, at least, be taught, that the latter can never disgrace the bosom of a Spaniard, glowing with all the ardent and liberal impressions peculiar to his country. Quickly will we teach them, that a loyal, virtuous, and brave people, attached to religion, and enamoured of true glory, can never be insulted with impunity, much less can it endure an instance of sanguinary violence directed against its dignity and independence. If the English, unmindful of the principles of humanity, respected among civilized nations, abandoning all shame and remorse, have only sought to obtain possession of our treasures, which we should have peaceably delivered to them, had they been entitled to the property, we will recal to their memory a fact, which we trusted had been universally acknowledged

—that the abuse of power, the violation of public right, and the mad excesses of despotism, have ever been the awful presage of the fall of empires. Let them hide their dishonoured heads; let them tremble in the contemplation of this ill-gotten wealth; let them shudder before the bloody victims of their aggression; and let an eternal mark of infamy be impressed, and universal detestation be excited, for these examples of public atrocity."

Those persons who consider the moral tendency of these circumstances, may be justly surprised that the late objections against the Copenhagen business have not been started before; since the seizure of the Spanish treasure, which gave birth to the war with that country, is a case exactly in point. It is strange, indeed, that the principle acted upon at Copenhagen, as it is by no means a new one with British ministers, should now, for the first time, be so loudly protested against, as to produce a public statement, that "Great Britain *has lost her moral rank among the nations.*" It was, indeed, incumbent upon British *honour*, at all times, to have made such a declaration; but this not having been produced till the present moment, and then only in consequence of an act which threatens to extinguish our gainful trade in the North; it may be suspected, that *profit*, more than honour, for fear of being further pinched, has induced us to raise this outcry.

The same immoral principle, it appears, was most rigidly acted upon against the Spaniards; but then we had allies, whose prowess might be looked to to extricate us from the dilemma we had fallen into. The Russians were then preparing to take the field for us; at present, it appears, they are getting ready to act against us: therefore, our returning morality, it is most probable, may resemble a *death-bed* repentance, rather than genuine contrition. And it must be evident to every man of rational or religious discernment, that the immoral principle, at

present justly condemned, did not commence with the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, nor with the seizure of the Spanish treasure ships in 1804; but has been the permanent soul that has animated the actions of all our ministers, Mr. Fox excepted, from the very first moment of the commencement of the present impolitic and disastrous war.

THE END OF CHAP. X.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Pitt, and his Grocers, compared with Buonaparté and his Generals....Seizure of Sir George Rumbold.... Linois Squadron defeated by Commodore Dance....The Pope arrives at Paris....Buonaparté's Coronation....Address of the Senate, and Buonaparté's Answer....Conclusion of the Year 1804; *and the French Exposé, or State of the Nation.*

AS some persons have been extremely fond of comparing the late Mr. Pitt with Buonaparté; or, as we say, of game-cocks, *pitting* them against each other, we should not omit that one of the most signal actions of that supposed great man, in 1804, was, his dining in the city, with his *brother grocers;* when, as usual, the company sat down to a sumptuous dinner; after which the patriotic, or rather the songs and toasts of the mere trader and monopolist, were preferred. But, while Mr. Pitt was thus employed in courting the mercantile interest with his grocers, it is most probable that Buonaparté was employed with his generals. In Mr. Pitt's meeting we know of nothing that was produced beyond the powers or spirit of a pedlar: in those of Buonaparté, from the amazing successes that followed his deliberations, and in what he accordingly effected for his country, a man must be strongly prejudiced indeed not to acknowledge the masterly genius and the true patriot.

Had there been none to execute better than Mr. Pitt and his colleagues had planned, perhaps the few victories and advantages that distinguished his fatal administration would have been thrown into a much deeper shade of oblivion than otherwise. They were, probably, pluming themselves with the notion that the French Emperor had

made but a very silly bargain with the Spaniards, in persuading them to cede Lousiania to the French, because we had it in our power to prevent him from taking possession of it: however, from this agreeable reverie, we were, very soon awakened, in learning, that Buonaparté perfectly aware of this difficulty, had sold that new province to the Americans.

In the month of November we were not less surprised, on hearing that the French had seized, and carried off, Sir George Rumbold, the British *charge-d'affaires* to the Hans Tows and the circle of Lower Saxony, while at Hamburgh, on the night of the 25th of the preceding month; that his papers were also seized; that he was hurried to Paris, and there confined in the Temple. From this temporary confinement, it seemed, Sir George was liberated, and sent home to England in a very short time after, by one of the most temporizing of all monarchs, viz. the King of Prussia. Still, in the interim, the English did not fail to exclaim against this violation of the person of an ambassador, on the part of the French, as one of the most odious outrages upon the law of nations. They forgot that the act of getting possession of the papers of accredited agents, even by seizure and violence, was an old, though dangerous, practice of *civilized* governments: nor did it occur to the defenders of the British ministry, that if any insult had been given to one of their ambassadors, they had only to thank themselves for it; as Lord Hawkesbury's Note on the propriety of employing ambassadors in foreign nations as spies, and exciters of sedition in the enemy's country, but not that where they immediately resided, had put them out of the benefit of the law of nations. This, indeed, was one of the first efforts of the *new morality*, which the war party have since improved upon. So far they seem to be a member of that power, which an Hebrew prophet and statesman describes as vainly thinking to "*change times and laws*," the immutable laws of right and wrong.

It was enough for the prosecutors of the war, if a few temporary successes did but, now-and-then, enlighten the gloomy prospect that presented itself to the feeling and judicious; a prospect, which, at times, startled and alarmed the most obdurate. The Dutch had not only lost Surinam, and other possessions; but even the French squadron that had sailed from Brest, under Admiral Linois, at the first breaking out of the rupture, had been repulsed by a homeward bound fleet of East Indiamen. Commodore Dance's account of this affair, addressed to the Court of Directors, dated Earl Camden, August 16, 1804, runs as follows: and, what is most singular, our readers will, afterwards, find, was also generally admitted, as to its veracity, by the French Government.

"For the information of the Honourable Court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the Earl Camden was dispatched from Canton by the Select Committee, the 31st of January last; and the ships noted in the margin*, were put under my orders, as senior commander; also, the Rolla, a Botany Bay ship, and the country ships: about twenty-four sail of Indiamen and country ships, were put under my charge, to convoy, as far as our courses lay in the same direction. I was also ordered to take under my protection a Portuguese Europe ship, that was lying in Macao Roads, whose supercargo had solicited it from the Select Committee.

"Our passage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much dispersed; the ships being under the directions of their several Chinese pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wished.

"The Ganges, a fast sailing brig, was put under my orders by the Select Committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the safety or convenience of the

* Warley, Alfred, Royal George, Courts, Wexford, Ganges, Exeter, Earl of Abergavenny, Henry Addington, Bombay Castle, Cumberland, Hope, Dorsetshire, Warren Hastings, Ocean.

fleet, till we had passed the Straits of Malacca.—I was then to dispatch her to Bengal.

"We passed Macao Roads on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the Rolla had anchored so near Macao as not to see the fleet get under weigh and pass through, although at the time I had no idea that could be possible, especially, as I saw the Ocean in-shore of us, getting under weigh, burning blue lights, and firing a gun; the Portuguese ship, I suppose, must have been in the same situation as the Rolla. During the night of the 5th of February I carried an easy sail, and, on the following day, hove-to for above two hours, hoping to see those ships; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet. On the 14th of February at day-break, we saw Pulo Auro, bearing W.S W. and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the signal for seeing four strange sail in the S.W. I made the signal for the four ships noted in the margin*, to go down and examine them; and Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, late commander of the Porpoise, and passenger with me, having handsomely offered to go, in the Ganges brig; and inspect them nearly, I, afterwards, sent her down likewise, and, from their signals, I perceived it was an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, three frigates, and a brig.

"At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ships, by signal, and formed the line of battle in close order.

"As soon as the enemy could fetch in our wake they put about; we kept on our course under an easy sail. At near sun-set, they were close up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to support them; but, at the close of day, we perceived them haul to windward. I sent Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to station the country ships on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them

* Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Castle, and Hope.

and the enemy; and, having done so, he returned with some volunteers from the country ships.

"We laid to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters; at day-break of the 15th, we saw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying to; we hoisted our colours, offering him battle, if he chose to come down. The enemy's four ships hoisted French colours, the line of battle ship carrying a rear-admiral's flag; the brig was under Batavian colours.

"At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of sailing, and steered our course under an easy sail; the enemy then filled their sails and edged towards us.

"At one P. M. finding they proposed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the signal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in succession, the Royal George being the leading ship, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we stood towards him under a press of sail. The enemy then formed in a very close line, and opened their fire on the headmost ships, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him; the Ganges, and Earl Camden opened their fire as soon as the guns could have effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the Eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two P. M. I made the signal for a general chase, and we pursued them till four P. M.; when, fearing a longer pursuit would carry us too far from the mouth of the Straits, and considering the immense property at stake, I made the signal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could distinguish the enemy, we perceived him steering to the Eastward under a press of sail. The

Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many shot in her hull, and more in her sails; but few shot touched either the Camden or Ganges; and the fire of the enemy seemed to be ill-directed, his shot either falling short, or passing over us. Captain Timmins carried the Royal George into action in the most gallant manner. In justice to my brother commanders, I must state, that every ship was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property entrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers, and ships companies. From Malacca, I dispatched Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the Select Committee to the captain of any of his Majesty's ships, soliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet. On our arrival at Malacca, we were informed that the squadron we had engaged was that of Admiral Linois; consisting of the Marengo, of 84 guns, the Belle Poole, and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig, William, of 18 guns. The 28th February, in the Straits of Malacca, lat. 40 deg. 30 min. N. we fell in with his Majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor state of health; and Mr. Lance went on board the Albion; and, by his very able representation to Captain Ferrier, of the great national consequence of the Honourable Company's ships, he was induced to take charge of the fleet. On the third of March I dispatched the Ganges brig with a Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor-general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the Honourable Court. We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his Majesty's ships Albion and Sceptre, and sailed the 18th under convoy of his Majes-

ty's ship Plantagenet, with the addition of the Carmarthen, Captain Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this, I send a chart of the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the situations of the fleet on the 14th and 15th February; which will, I trust, convey a more distinct idea of the action than any written description.

"I am, &c. N. DANCE."

This was an achievement not to be passed over by the Patriotic Fund; whose Committee, afterwards, resolved, That a sword and a vase, each of one hundred pounds value, should be given to Captain Dance, who acted as commodore to the fleet from China. A sword and a vase, of the same value, were also voted to Captain Timmins, of the Royal George; and a sword, of the value of fifty pounds, was ordered to be presented to each of the other captains of the India fleet that beat off Admiral Linois squadron. A sword, of fifty pounds value, was also voted to Lieutenant Fowler, of the royal navy, for his services on that occasion; and a letter was written to Captain Timmins to obtain the name, and an account of the family, of the seaman who was killed, and the sailor who was wounded, on board his ship during the action: and, on the following day, the Directors of the East India Company, with a most liberal gratitude for the noble service performed by the Chinese fleet, voted to the commanders, officers, and seamen, the following sums, for "their gallant conduct in beating off the French squadron, under Admiral Linois, in the Chinese seas."

Captain Dance, two thousand guineas, and a piece of plate, value two hundred guineas; Captain Timmins, one thousand guineas, and a piece of plate, value one hundred pounds; Captain Moffat, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas; to Captains H. Wilson, Farquharson, Torin, Clarke, Meriton, Wordsworth, Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Farrer, Prendergast,

Browne, Larkins, and Lockner, five hundred guineas, and a piece of plate, value fifty guineas, to each; to chief officers, one hundred and fifty guineas each; to second and third ditto, one hundred and twenty-five guineas; and to fifth and sixth ditto, fifty guineas each. Pursers and surgeons, eighty guineas each; mates, boatswains, gunners, and carpenters, fifty guineas each; midshipmen thirty guineas; other petty officers, fifteen guineas each; seamen, ordinary seamen, and servants, six guineas each. To Lieutenant Fowler, passenger in the Camden, for the services rendered Captain Dance during the action, three hundred guineas, for a piece of plate. The whole remuneration will amount to nearly fifty thousand pounds! The value of the fleet thus gallantly preserved, as estimated by the supercargoes, including the private as well as the public investments, appears to be above eight millions sterling!

But if the French had nothing else to console them under these misfortunes, during the gloomy month of November, the good people of Paris were highly gratified on the 25th, by the arrival of the Holy Father at Fontainbleau, for the purpose of officiating at the coronation of the Emperor Napoleon, which had been fixed for November. The Emperor, who was enjoying the chase at the moment of his arrival, met him at La Croix de St. Herem. The Emperor and the Pope alighted, and, according to the French fashion, embraced each other: six of his Majesty's carriages then came up, into one of which Napoleon first entered, and placed his Holiness upon the right. They arrived at the castle, through two lines of troops and the thunder of artillery. Cardinal Capura, and the great officers of the houshold, received them at the bottom of the gilt staircase, up which they both proceeded as far as the place which separated their apartments: his Holiness, having there quitted the Emperor, was conducted by the Grand Chamberlain, the Grand Marshal of the palace, (Duroc) and the Grand Master of the Cere-

monies, to the apartment prepared for him: having rested some time, he paid a formal visit to the Emperor, and, afterwards, to the Empress: her Majesty reconducted him as far as the second room of her apartments: the Pope then returning to his own apartments, the Minister and great officers of the Empire were presented to him. At four o'clock the Emperor sent notice to the Pope that he intended to pay him a visit, and repaired to the closet of his Holiness; and the same ceremony was observed on the Pope's returning this visit: at each visit they remained alone together about half an hour.

We shall pass over the Allocution, or Admonition, which the Pope addressed to the clergy before he left Rome, in order to assist at the coronation of the French Emperor; nor need we notice the ceremonies that distinguished the coronation, on the 2d December, the day appointed; when the Senate, pursuant to its former resolution, presented itself in a body, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at the palace of the Thuilleries. Having been introduced into the chamber of state, they were presented to the Emperor by Prince Joseph, the Grand Elector; when his Excellency, M. Francis de Neufchateau, addressed his Majesty: not in a strain of the most fulsome flattery, as our sagacious newspapers have been pleased to term every thing of the kind directed to the French Emperor, nor yet altogether devoid of that agreeable kind of embellishment; but which, however, to the mortification and confusion of the enemies of peace, has ever been founded upon too much truth and sober sadness; and one of the greatest, one of the most invincible of these truths, was noticed by the speaker on this occasion, as that which the Emperor had, most auspiciously, chosen as the inscription on the French coins; viz. *God protects France.*—"Oh yes! God protects France—since he created you for her."

"FATHER OF THY COUNTRY!

"In the name of that protecting God, bestow a blessing on thy children; and, relying on their fidelity, be assured, that nothing can either efface from their minds, or root out of their hearts, the engagements resulting from the mutual contract that has just been entered into between the French Nation and the Imperial Family. In the absence of the throne all the great characters give themselves up to faction: a people is so much the more to be pitied the greater the number of its distinguished children; all that might constitute the pride of nations becomes then the scourge of one. From the moment that the throne is worthily filled, eminent virtues have a reward; viz. to approach nearer to it; and the distinction is so much the more flattering as more real dignities bear more imposing names.

"The title of Emperor has ever conveyed the law; not of that royalty before which subjects humble and prostrate themselves, but the great and liberal idea of a First Magistrate, governing in the name of the law, which citizens feel honour in obeying.

"The title of Senate indicates also an assembly of chosen magistrates, proved by long labour and venerable for age.—The greater the Emperor is, the more august ought the Senate to be."

His Majesty replied in the following terms:

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the Senate, the People, and the Army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of "Great." From my youth my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them; and I must add here, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My Descendants shall long preserve this throne; in the camps they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives in the

defence of their country.—As magistrates, they will never forget, that contempt of the laws and the confusion of social order are only the result of the imbecility and unsteadiness of princes. You, Senators! whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances; your spirit will be handed down to your successors: be ever the props and first counsellors of that Throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast Empire."

It is unnecessary to add, that the coronation of Napoleon was distinguished by all the usual testimonies of the public joy—On our side of the water it proved only a fresh source of additional chagrin to those who were interested in the war, or who gave credit to the representations of the ministers and their hireling advocates. Having nothing better to urge, they objected, that it was cruel in the extreme to force the poor old Pope to come; all the way from Rome to Paris, to crown Buonaparté, that he might catch his death by it! &c. &c. And yet this is the nation that, in its Capital, at least, burns the Pope, in effigy, every year, for crimes committed two centuries ago! But the real cause of their mortification was to find, that the Pope being rendered subservient to the French Emperor as a temporal prince, there was no longer any hope, on the part of the Allies, of making use of his authority in furtherance of their designs: for if the Pope, or any persons properly authorised by him, could or would only have given absolution to any persons, that the Allies, or any one of them, might have hired to assassinate the French Emperor, even this would have been a material point preserved; but now, with several other hopes and resources, this had failed them also.

Thus passed the whole of 1804: on our side, the physical advantages we had gained over the ships and colonies of our enemies were but few, compared with the moral advantages obtained by France—As these are very well explained in the French annual *Exposé*, delivered at the opening of the session of the Legislative Body

at Paris, on the 26th of December, 1804, we presume we cannot close our History of Buonaparté, to that period, in a more advantageous manner, than by presenting to our readers that able Retrospect of public affairs, contained in a State Paper, not less valuable for what it related of the past than what it promised in respect to the future; as these will be found to be facts, that can neither be weakened by sophistry or darkened by prejudice. M. Champagny, who was the orator on this occasion, began as follows:

"GENTLEMEN!

"In consequence of the nomination, of which information has just been given to you, I am about to have the honour of stating to you the situation of the French Empire. The interior situation of France is, at this day, what it was in the calmest times: no movement which can alarm the public tranquility; no crime which belongs to the remembrance of the Revolution: everywhere useful undertakings, everywhere the improvement of public and private property attest the progress of confidence and of security: the leaven of opinion no longer sharpens the spirits; the sentiments of the general interest, the principles of social order, better known and more refined, have attached all hearts to the common prosperity: this is what all the administrations proclaim; this is what the Emperor has witnessed in all the departments he has travelled through; this is what has been just demonstrated in the most striking manner: all the armies have seen themselves, at once, separated from their generals, all the military corps from their chiefs; the superior tribunals deprived of their first magistrates; the public ministry of its first organs; the churches of their principal pastors; the towns, the countries, simultaneously quitted by every one who had power and influence over men's minds: the people everywhere abandoned to their genius; and the people have everywhere shown themselves desirous of order and of the laws. At the same moment the Sovereign

Pontiff travelled through France; from the banks of the Po to the borders of the Seine he has everywhere been the object of a religious homage, rendered him by that immense majority, who, faithful to the ancient doctrine, see a common father, and the centre of the common belief, in him, whom all Europe reveres as a sovereign raised to the throne by his piety and his virtues. A plot, laid by an implacable government, was going to replunge France into the abyss of civil wars and of anarchy: at the discovery of that horrible plot all France was moved; inquietudes, ill laid asleep, were again awakened, and in every mind was at once found, anew, principles, which have been those of all wise men, and which were constantly ours, before error and weakness had alienated men's minds, and guilty intrigues had misled their opinions. The nation had experienced, that power divided was without accord and without strength; it had been made sensible, that, intrusted for a time, it was only precarious, and permitted neither long labours nor long thoughts; that, intrusted for the life of a single man, it grew weak with him, and left after him only chances of discord and of anarchy; it was convinced, in fine, that there was safety, for great nations, only in hereditary power; that it alone secured their political life, and embraced in its duration generations and ages. The Senate was, as it should be, the organ of their common inquietude: soon burst forth that wish to see the power hereditary which dwelt in all hearts truly French: it was proclaimed by the Electoral Colleges, by the Armies, the Council of State, Magistrates; the most enlightened men were consulted, and their answer was unanimous. The necessity of hereditary power, in a state so vast as France, had been, long, since, perceived by the First Consul: in vain had he resisted the force of principles; in vain had he tried to establish a system of election, which might perpetuate public autho-

rity, and transmit it without danger and without troubles: public inquietudes, the hopes of our enemies, accused his work; his death was to be the ruin of his labours. It was till this term that foreign jealousy and the spirit of discord and anarchy waited for us: reason, sentiment, experience, dictated equally to all Frenchmen, that there was no certain transmission of power but that which was effected without interval; that there was no tranquil succession but that which was regulated by the laws of nature. When such motives supported such pressing wishes the determination of the First Consul could not be doubtful: he resolved, then, to accept for himself, and for two of his Brothers, after him, the load which was imposed on him by the necessity of circumstances. From his meditations, ripened by conferences with the members of the Senate, by discussions in the Councils, by the observations of the wisest men, was formed a series of dispositions, which fixes the inheritance of the Imperial Throne; which assigns to the Princes their rights and their duties; which promises to the Heir of the Empire an education regulated by the laws, and such that he will be worthy of his high destinies; which designates those who, in case of minority, will be called to the Regency, and marks the limits of their power; which places between the throne and the citizens dignities and offices, accessible to all, encouragements and recompenses of the public virtues; which give to men honoured with great distinctions, or invested with great authority, judges, sufficiently great to bend neither before their authority nor before their distinctions: which gives to crimes against the public safety and the interest of the Empire, judges essentially attached to the safety of the Empire and to its interests; which places more lustre and more weight in the functions of the legislator, more developement and more extent in the public discussion of the laws: which recals the tribunals and their judgments to those ancient denominations which had obtained the re-

spect of ages; which guarantees, in fine, the rights of the Prince and of the People by oaths, the eternal guardians of all interest. These dispositions were decreed by the *Senatus Consultum* of the 28th of *Floreal* last: the French People have manifested their free and independent will; they have expressed their wish that the Imperial Dignity should be hereditary, in the direct, legitimate, and adoptive descendants of Napoleon Buonaparté; in the direct and legitimate descendants of Joseph Buonaparté; in the direct and legitimate descendants of Louis Buonaparté. At that moment Napoleon was, by the most just of titles, Emperor of the French; no other act was necessary to ascertain his rights and consecrate his authority: but he wished to restore to France her ancient forms, to recal among us those institutions which the Divinity seems to have inspired, and to impress upon the beginning of his reign the seal of religion itself. To give to the French a striking proof of his paternal tenderness, the Chief of the Church has been willing to lend his ministry to this august ceremony.—What a deep and lasting impression it has left in the mind of the Emperor and in the remembrance of the nation! what conversations for future races! and what a subject of admiration for Europe! Napoleon prostrate at the foot of the altars which he has just raised! the Sovereign Pontiff imploring upon France, and upon him, the celestial benedictions, and, in his wishes for the felicity of one nation, embracing the felicity of all nations! Pastors and Priests, lately divided, uniting with his supplications their gratitude and their voice! The Senators, the Legislators, the Tribunes, Magistrates, Warriors, the Administrators of the people, and those who preside over their assemblies, confounding together their opinions, their hopes, and their wishes! Sovereigns, Princes, Ambassadors, struck with the grand spectacle of France, again seated upon her ancient foundations, and by her repose securing the repose of their country! In the midst of this pomp, and under the look of the

Eternal, Napoleon pronouncing the immutable Oath, which secures the integrity of the Empire, the stability of property, the perpetuity of institutions, the respect for the laws, and the happiness of the nation! The Oath of Napoleon will be for ever the terror of the enemies, and the buckler of the French: if our frontiers are attacked, it will be repeated at the head of our armies, and our frontiers will no longer dread a foreign invasion; it will be present to the memory of the delegates of authority, it will remind them of the end of their labours and the rule of their duties, and, though it may not gaurantee their administration from some errors, it will ensure the prompt reparation of them. A project of a Criminal Code, finished for these two years past, has been submitted to the censure of the Tribunals, and is now undergoing a final discussion in the Council of State. The Code of Procedure and the Code of Commerce are still in the same state the labours of last year left them in: more urgent cares have called on the Emperor; and it is one of his maxims, to propose to the deliberations of the Legislators those projects of laws alone which have been ripened by long and wise discussions. The Schools of Legislation are about to open; inspectors are nominated, who will enlighten public teaching, and prevent its degenerating into vain and sterile proofs; the Lyceums, the Secondary Schools, are filling with youth eager for instruction: Fontainbleau has already sent forth military men, who are remarked in our armies for their soldierly appearance, their knowledge, and their respect for discipline. The Polytechnic School peoples with useful hands our arsenals, our ports, and our workshops. At Compeigne the School of Arts and Trades obtains, every day, new successes: that which is to be formed upon the borders of La Vendée is expected there with impatience, and will, shortly, be in complete activity. Prizes have been decreed to Sciences, to Letters, and to Arts, and, in a period of ten years, assigned to labours that his Majesty wishes to recompese, he has a right to expect that French

genius will bring forth new masterpieces. In the department of Bridges and Highways the works begun have been carried on with constancy, others are in contemplation, and every year prepares for the following years new schemes for the prosperity of the state: but the intemperance of the seasons had deceived the foresight and the zeal of administration; rains and torrents have injured the Roads more rapidly than we have been able to repair them; some labours have been destroyed, others have been, for a moment suspended; great calamities have afflicted some departments, particularly that of the Rhine and Moselle: a judicious Prefect, interpreter of the intentions of the Emperor, has presented the first succour to those unhappy men who have been the victims of it: his Majesty has reanimated their courage by his presence, and as consoled them by his benefits. The scourge of Contagion has afflicted some neighbouring countries, the vigilance of administration has preserved our territory from it; it is rapidly diminishing in those places where it exercised its ravages. In maintaining the measures which are still dictated by prudence and regard for the public health, the introduction of the evil will be prevented without interupting the communication necessary for the aliment of our commerce and of our manufactures. In the centre of La Vendee a new City is building, intended to be the seat of the administration: from thence it will exercise over every point an active and sure superintendance; from thence knowledge and sound principles will be propagated throughout that department, in which ignorance and the want of instruction have so frequently delivered over simple and honest minds to the intrigues of malevolence. Decrees of the Emperor have recalled commerce to the left bank of the Rhine, and bestowed on Mentz and Cologne all the advantages of real emporiums, without the danger of introducing contraband goods into the interior of France. Manufactures are improving: and whilst, in vain declamations, mercenaries, paid by the British Government, boast

its distant and precarious resources, dispersed over the seas and the Indies; whilst they describe our workshops as deserted, and our workmen dying with misery, our industry extends its roots over our own soil, repels English industry far from our frontiers, and has succeeded in equalling it, in what formed its glory and its success, the perfection of its Machines, and is preparing to dispute with its consumers, in every place where it can meet with and reach it. Our first manufacture, Agriculture, has enlarged and become clear; a system of Exportation, in such a manner combined, that it shuts and opens according to our wants, assures to the husbandman the price of his labour and abundance to our markets. New encouragements prepare the improvement of the race of our Horses; our Wools are meliorated; our fields are covered with Cattle, and throughout every part of the Empire its true riches multiply. Aided by riches, renewed security has given a freer scope to active beneficence: excited by religion, and by the recollection of our misfortunes, the latter is not limited to the charities of the moment; it embraces the future, and trusts its treasure to government, which gaurantees to it an employment conformable to its wishes. Never have so many legacies and pious donations been made in favour of the Hospitals and of the Establishments of Beneficence: some of these institutions have been created or established by private persons; never has suffering humanity found more friends, nor indigence more succour. They are distributed with as much wisdom as zeal; and the Hospitals of Paris, directed with an intelligence which multiplies the cares in economising the funds, relieve all wants, cure many evils, and are no more those murderous asylums which devour their numerous and miserable population: the number of the indigent of the Capital is, accordingly, thirty-two thousand below that which it was in 1791, and twenty-five thousand less than that which it was in the year 10.—Religion has resumed its empire; it no longer exercises itself but for the good of humanity; a wise tolerance accom-

panies it, and the ministers of different forms of worship who adore the same God, do honour to themselves by testimonies of reciprocal respect, and know no other rivality than that of virtues; such is our position within: without, French courage, seconded by Spanish good faith, has preserved to us St. Domingo: Martinque braves the menaces of our enemies, and under a paternal government, renders stronger and more durable the ties which attach it to the Mother Country. Guadaloupe has enriched itself with the spoils of British commerce; and Guyana continues, to prosper under an active and vigorous administration. The Isles of France and of Re-union would be, at the present day, the emporium of the riches of Asia; London would be in convulsions and despair, had not inexperience or weakness baffled a scheme most ably concerted. The Isles of France and of Re-union, however, are still enriched with the prizes which we have taken from our enemies. Our Armies are always deserving of their reputation: with the same valour and the same discipline, they have acquired that patience, which waits for opportunities without murmuring, and confides in the prudence and designs of the Chief who conducts them. Our Soldiers, our officers, learn to govern the element which separates them from that Island, the grand object of their resentment: their audacity and their address astonish the oldest and most experienced mariners. Our Fleets, by continual manœuvres, lead the way to combats; and whilst those of our enemies wear out, in striving against winds and tempestst ours learn, without destroying themselves, to fight againt them. In fine, since by the war we have gained Hanover, we are more in a state than ever to strike decisive blows against our enemies. Our navy is in a better state than it has been for these ten years past; upon land our army is more numerous, better disciplined, and better provided with every thing calculated to ensure victory than it ever was. In the department of Finances, the same activity prevails in the receipts, the same regularity in the

management, the same order in the administration of the treasure; and almost always the same stability in the value of the public debt. The war, in the first instance, necessitated extraordinary expenses, but the funds for them were expended in our own soil, and have given us vessels, ports, and every thing which is necessary for the development of our forces against our enemies: these extraordinary expenses have now ceased, and those excited by our warlike attitude will, henceforth, be directed by an economy which the urgency of our preparations for attack and defence did not admit of. The revenues of the crown will support all the expenses of the Coronation, and those still demanded by the splendor of the throne: the lustre which surrounds it will never be a burden to the nation. The situation of Europe has experienced but one important change. Spain reposed under a neutrality to which France had consented, and which the British Cabinet had acknowledged; her vessels were suddenly attacked, and the Treaty of Amiens was violated with regard to her, as it had previously been with regard to France. His Catholic Majesty has taken the part commanded him by the dignity of his throne, by good faith outraged, and by the honour of a generous people whose destinies he directs. The Emperor of Austria devotes to the restoration of his finances the prosperity of his provinces, the progress of their commerce, that repose prompted by the frankness of his character and the interests of his subjects. The Italian Republic, administered and governed by the same principles as France, requires, like that power, a definitive organization, which shall ensure to the present generation, and to future generations, all the advantages of the Social Pact. United to this Republic by the duties imposed on him, both as President and as Founder of that state, the Emperor will reply to the confidence it testifies towards him, and ensure its destinies and its independence, by serving the interests of the French People, to whom, also, it owes its existence, and by conciliating the interests of

these two friendly nations with the well understood interests of the neighbouring powers. By the changes called for by the will of a nation, and by the interest of all, absurd calumnies will fall to the ground; and France, who has herself erected barriers where she had fixed her limits, will no longer be accused of a wish to overleap them. Helvetia enjoys in peace the benefits of her constitution, of the wisdom of her citizens, and of our alliance. Batavia still groans under an oligarchical government, without union in its views, without patriotism, and without vigour. Its colonies have been, a second time, sold and delivered up to England, without firing a gun; but this nation possesses energy, morals, and economy; it wants only a firm, patriotic, and enlightened government. The King of Prussia has shown himself, upon every occasion, the friend of France; and the Emperor has profited of every one which has presented itself, to consolidate this happy harmony. The Electors, and all the Members of the Germanic body, faithfully maintain the relations of benevolence and friendship which unite it to France. Denmark follows the counsels of a wise, moderate, and judicious policy. The spirit of Catherine the Great will watch over the councils of Alexander I.: he will recollect that the friendship of France is a necessary counterpoise for him in the balance of Europe; that, placed at a distance from her, he can neither preserve nor disturb her repose, and that his great interest is, to find in his relations with her a necessary vent for the production of his empire. Turkey is wavering in her politics; she follows, through fear, a system which her interest disavows. May she never learn, at the expense of her own existence, that fear and irresolution accelerate the fall of empires, a thousand times more fatal than the dangers and losses of an unfortunate war! Whatever may be the movement of England, the destinies of France are fixed: strong in her union, strong in her riches, and in the courage of her

defenders, she will faithfully cultivate the alliance of her friends, and will not act so as either to deserve enemies nor fear them. When England shall be convinced of the impotence of her efforts to agitate the Continent; when she shall know that she has only to lose in a war, without end or motives; when she shall be convinced that France will never accept any other conditions than those of Amiens, and will never consent to leave to her the right of breaking treaties at pleasure, by appropriating Malta, England will then have arrived at pacific sentiments: hatred and envy have but their day."

THE END OF CHAP. XI.

CHAPTER XII.

The French Emperor's Letter to the King of Great Britain ...Answered by Lord Mulgrave....Moderation of the French Government. ..Deliberations of the Legislative Body....Speeches of M. M. Segur and Talleyrand....The French Emperor assumes the Iron Crown of Italy....Visits Boulogne....Grand Display of the Troops and Vessels there and at Vimereux.

THE commencement of the year 1805 was distinguished by a very singular trait in the character of the French Emperor.—To some of our English writers this action appeared so extraordinary, that they doubted whether it ought to be characterized by the peculiar epithet of *presumption, insolence,* or *folly*: in fact, he had the temerity to address his Britannic Majesty, personally, in a letter written in his own hand; in which he deprecated the further continuance of a war, in the prosecution of which so much useless blood was shed, without any view or object whatever: he said "he thought it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation in a moment which afforded the most favourable opportunity to silence the passions and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. He adjured his Majesty not to deny himself the pleasure of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that delightful task to his children. He reminded the British Monarch, that the latter had gained more in the last ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe; that his country was at the highest pitch of prosperity, and could only hope to form another coalition of some powers upon the continent against France; but that the effect of such a measure would be to increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France only. Did England hope to renew

the internal troubles of France, or destroy her finances, or deprive her of her colonies? a war would produce no such effects. The French were happy; a flourishing state of agriculture was the support of their finances, and the colonies were but a secondary object: besides, had not the King of England, at that moment, more than he knew how to preserve?" (After some more reasoning, of a similar cast, this Document concludes with the following words:) "If your Majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object and without any presumable result to yourself! Alas! what a melancholy prospect! to cause two nations to fight only for the sake of fighting! The world is sufficiently capacious for our two nations to exist in it; and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. Peace," he also observed, "was his first wish, though war had never been inconsistent with his glory. He thought there never was a more fortunate opportunity than the present to make peace: this moment once lost, he asked, What end could be assigned to a war, which all his efforts would not be able to terminate?"

To this pathetic Letter the following cold, systematic Answer was returned; not from the hand of the Monarch, but from Lord Mulgrave, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; dated 14th January, 1805, and addressed to M. Talleyrand:

"His Britannic Majesty has received the Letter which has been addressed to him by the Head of the French Government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object which his Majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions;

his Majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may, at the same time, provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his Majesty feels it impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the Powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations; and, particularly, the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the Continent.

"MULGRAVE."

But, notwithstanding such an indefinite answer as the above, was returned to this Letter, it was generally allowed here, that in the French Emperor's Letter there was no longer that tone of arrogant superiority which characterized the language of the French Government in the preceding year; no reference to the impossibility of England contending against France "single-handed;" nor any apparent wish to consider us in any other light than as a formidable rival.

Early in the month of February this Letter, with the above Answer, were communicated to the French Legislative Body, by order of the Emperor.—M. Segur, in presenting these documents, introduced them with a speech, which plainly evinced the French Government was not pleased with the answer they had received. M. Segur, though no facts could be better founded, would not admit that Russia, Austria, or Prussia, would embark in a war merely to gratify England: yet, if he was wrong in these premises, he was right in his conclusion; viz. "That the hopes of England, in a Third Coalition, were vain and chimerical; and that it only remained for French bravery to display its whole energy, and to tri-

umph, at last, over that eternal enemy to the liberty of the seas and the repose of nations."

But even after this Letter, and its Answer, had thus been made public, it is to be inferred, from the speech of M. Talleyrand, that it was the wish of the French Government that this overture should be considered as yet open, and that, after Russia had been consulted, further discussions of an amicable nature might take place. M. Talleyrand observed, "That on a question regarding a multitude of interests and passions, which have never been in unison, they ought not to rest upon a single symptom.—Time (he said) would soon develope to the French the secret resolutions of the English Government; should these be just and moderate, the calamities of war would cease; should, (said he) on the contrary, this first appearance of accommodation prove but a false light, intended only to answer speculations of credit, to facilitate a loan, the acquisition of money, &c.; then we shall know how far the dispositions of the enemy are implacable and obstinate; we shall then have to banish all hope from a dangerous lure, and trust, without reserve, to the goodness of our cause, the justice of Providence, and the genius of the Emperor. Time, which has been the best comment upon the actions of those ministers who used this language, could it furnish itself with a tongue, would have had no occasion for the pen of the historian. Time has, in reality, evinced that these hopes of peace were unsubstantial, that the British ministers, and the mercantile interest that governed them, talked of peace but wished for war: it has also proved, that while all the hopes founded upon these mean and mercenary considerations have been ruinously deceptive, the hopes of the French have not only been realized, but even the most sanguine of their wishes far exceeded; and that they have not trusted in vain to the goodness of their cause, the justice of Providence, or the genius of their Emperor.

With respect to Italy, it was observed, that though

Buonaparté, "certainly one of the most fortunate, if not the greatest character on which the page of history ever dwelt, had taken upon himself the style and title of the Emperor of the Gauls, respect for a form of government he had so recently established in the Northern and middle provinces of Italy, induced him to forego, at the moment of his advancement to the Imperial diadem, the personal sovereignty of that country. However, he felt himself emboldened, in the course of the present year, to extend his views of family aggrandizement, and the Iron Crown of Charlemagne was destined to circle the brows of Buonaparté; who, when he was hailed King of Italy, had his views upon the Northern provinces and the fertile Island of Sicily. It would be deemed trifling to dwell upon the solicitations that were sent in from various parts of Italy, beseeching Napoleon to take upon himself, and his heirs, the Italian diadem. It is sufficient to say, that on the 25th of May, the Emperor of France, having repaired to the city of Milan, one of the first witnesses of his astonishing military talents, he was there crowned with the utmost splendour, solemnity, pomp, and imposing magnificence.

The Emperor, seated on a superb throne, having on his right the honours of the Empire, on the left the honours of Italy, and before him the honours of Charlemagne, was invested with the usual insignia of royalty, by the Cardinal Archbishop, and finally ascending the altar, he took to himself the Iron Crown, and placed it upon his head, exclaiming aloud, it being a part of the ancient ceremony on enthroning the Lombard Kings. *Dieu me l'a donne; gare a qui la touche*, viz. "God gives it to me; beware those who touch it."

After the ceremony, the new Constitutional Code was communicated to the states; the most remarkable of its provisions were, that of placing the regal authority solely in the person of Napoleon, with the privilege of naming his successor; after which, the crown, with certain limi-

tations, was to be hereditary. It was decreed, that hereafter the monarch must constantly reside within the Italian states, but, that while the present King retained the crown of Italy, he might be there represented by a Viceroy, who must positively reside within the boundaries of the kingdom. After the death of Napoleon, it was also stipulated, that the kingdom must never again be vested in the same person with that of the French empire. But immediately after the promulgation of this body of laws, Prince Eugene Beauharnois, the son of Madame Buonaparté, by her former husband, General Beauharnois, was appointed Viceroy, and a new order of knighthood, that of the *Iron Crown*, was instituted, with considerable revenues attached to this dignity: and the organization of the new kingdom was very soon arranged and completed.

It can scarcely be doubted, that the French Emperor's design in causing himself to be crowned King of Italy, was to strengthen his frontiers; and, particularly to guard against his implacable enemy the King, or rather the Queen of Naples. The observation that he had made to the King of Great Britain in the beginning of the year, when he addressed a Letter to him, respecting his vast acquisition of territory, for the last ten years, upon the continent of India, may also be looked upon as a kind of apology on the part of the French Emperor, for the liberties he had taken in that of Europe: but, as deference to antient usages could no longer be expected, the French Emperor was now determined, formally, to unite the territory of the once proud city of Genoa to his own. The ceremonial attending this act, took place also at Milan, on the 4th of June, when the Doge of Genoa, in a full convocation of the great officers of state, addressed, and solicited the French Emperor to grant the Genoese nation the happiness of being his subjects. His Majesty returned a very long, and a very gracious answer, in the course of which he said,

"I will realize your wish: I will unite you to my great people. It will be to me a new means for rendering more efficacious the protection I have always loved to grant you. My people will receive you with pleasure: they know that, in all circumstances, you have assisted their arms with friendship, and have supported them with all your means. They find, besides, with your ports, an increase of maritime power, which is necessary to them to sustain their lawful rights against the oppressors of the seas. You will find, in your union with my people, a continent. You have only ports and a marine. You will find a flag, which, whatever may be the pretensions of my enemies, I will maintain, on all the seas of the universe, constantly free from insult, and from search, and exempt from the right of blockade, which I will never recognise but for places really blockaded, as well by sea as by land. You will find yourselves sheltered under it from this shameful slavery, the existence of which I reluctantly suffer with respect to weaker nations, but from which I will always guarantee my subjects."

Having settled these important concerns, the French Emperor left Italy on his return to Paris, where he arrived on the 12th of August. But, as it has been supposed that he was seriously deceived in his expectations of a continental peace, and, therefore, thought himself at liberty to repair to Boulogne, to organize his army and his flotilla for the invasion of England, he certainly lost no time in repairing thither. The stile in which he was received; the magnitude of the force assembled there, with the spectators, rendered the whole extremely interesting; and, as this was a part which will, most probably, be re-acted in the same place, and mostly by the same persons; some particulars at present may not be unamusing. The following account of this Festival at Boulogne, is copied from the *Moniteur*.

"Seated on the throne of one of the Kings of the first

race, the Emperor had, immediately on his right, Prince Joseph, behind him the great officers of the Crown; on each side the ministers, the Marshals of the Empire, and the Colonels general; in front, and on the steps, were his Majesty's *aides-de-camps;* and on the benches at the foot of the throne were, on the right, the Counsellors of State, the Generals arrived from the interior, and foreign Officers; on the left, the Civil and Religious Functionaries. The remainder of the space in the middle was occupied by the Imperial Guard, and the musicians on one side, and 2,000 drummers on the other; at its extremities were the grand staff of the army, and the general staff officers of the camps. The Emperor saw on his right, the two camps and the batteries, the entrance of the port, and a part of the roads; and on his left, he had a view of the port of Vimereux, and the coasts of England. In front of him, advanced sixty battalions, formed in twenty columns, the heads of them occupying half the circumference of the circle. In front, and in the interior part, still nearer the throne, were platoons of legionaries of all ranks, and of the different branches of the service. The extremities of the columns advanced towards the heights, which were occupied by twenty squadrons in battle array, and which were completely covered and decorated with an immense crowd of spectators, and the tents appointed for the ladies.

"Never was there a disposition more simple, nor one which presented, a more imposing aspect. But every thing announced that the tempest, which prevailed on this part of the coast for eight-and-forty hours, would also disturb the enjoyment of this splendid day. The South-west wind accumulated dark clouds, and agitated the waves. The English cruisers had retired, and appeared only through the haze of the horizon. At noon the Emperor left his hut, and a salute from all the batteries of the coast announced his arrival. That instant

the sun illuminated the ceremony, and there was no more wind than was sufficient to make the colours wave.

"On the appearance of the Emperor, the drums began to beat, and shouts of joy, on the part of the army and the spectators, marked his presence, and the enthusiasm which it excited. The drums then beat a charge, and the different columns instantly closed their ranks. This fine movement electrified all the heroes with a military ardour.

"The Grand Chancellors of the Legion of Honour pronounced a discourse; and, after a ruff of the drums, his Majesty recited the oath; all the legionaries exclaimed, *We swear it!* From a spontaneous impulse, the whole army repeated this oath of fidelity and attachment; and cries of *Live the Emperor!* resounded amidst all the ranks, who brandished their arms, and waved their colours, by way of expressing their joy. The great officers, the commandants, the officers, and the legionaries, then approached the throne, where, being presented by the Minister at War, they individually received from his Majesty's hands the decoration of the Eagle.

"It was delightful to behold the Marshals of the Empire, the Generals, the Counsellors of State, the Prefects, Bishops, Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, receiving, each in their turn, the reward of honour, from the hands of Buonaparté, who recognising all of them, received them as the companions of his toils and his glory. The decorations were held up by several officers, in the helmets and bucklers of the armour of Dugueselin and Bayard.

"The sight of this splendid and brave army, of those fields, of those ports, the work of their hands, of those piers and light-houses, resounding with the noise of the waves and cannon; the view of the chalky coasts of England; those rays of the sun darting through the clouds to illuminate this august scene; those hostile vessels, tossed by the tempest, and disappearing in the haze

of the horizon; all these objects combined, gave to the sentiments and thoughts excited by the presence of the Emperor, on the soil once trod by Cæsar, a grandeur, an indefinite charm, incapable of being expressed.

"There was one trait wanting to complete this magnificent picture. The flotilla could not go out; but the stars of the Emperor conducted one, as if for the express purpose, from Havre. All eyes were turned towards the sea, and the most lively joy was manifested, in beholding the ocean pay its tribute to the entertainment of the Emperor; and that convoy, which had been expected for six days, arrived at the moment of the solemnity.

"It was now four o'clock; the wind freshened, and the billows rose. After the flotilla entered, four boats, and five pinnaces, which had cleared the Channel, ground-on the sand-bank under the wooden fort; they have, however, received no damage, and next tide they will be floated off and brought into harbour.

"The Emperor passed the evening in his hut; and all the legionaries were entertained at the tables of Prince Joseph, the Minister at War, the Minister of the Marine, Marshal Soult, and Admiral Bruix, in tents decorated in a military stile, and the health of the Emperor was drank with enthusiasm, amidst the report of all the artillery of the batteries on the coast."

About this time it was said, "all that belongs to England, is finally threatened by 1,500 vessels which compose our flotilla, with sixty ships of the line, and a valiant army, commanded by the first generals in the world." About this time also, the French made no secret of their means for transporting 200,000 men over to the English shores in the course of a night. However, from these preparations it is clear that Buonaparté was very suddenly called off, even while he was at Boulogne, where, it is probable, he received such information respecting the Emperor of Austria, as induced him to leave the coast without delay, and soon after, instead of passing the

Channel, to prepare for passing the Rhine, to which boundary it appeared the Austrian troops were fast approaching; or, as a historian of that day expressed it with respect to Buonaparté; having satisfied himself of the efficiency and excellent appointment of this vast body of troops, not lesss at that moment than 115,000 disciplined soldiers, without counting upon the cavalry or artillery; he again proceeded to Paris, where the threatening aspect of affairs, required his immediate presence." In our next we shall take a retrospective view of the negociations between England on one side, and Austria and Russia on the other, which led to the rupture on the continent, which will, also, be our province to describe.

THE END OF CHAP. XII.

CHAPTER XIII.

Immediate Causes of the Rupture with Austria, Russia, and Sweden....Account of Treaties, &c....Baron Novosiltzoff arrives at Berlin on his Way to Paris ...Returns abruptly ....Official Note....Conduct of Austria induces the French Emperor to postpone his Projects against England, and march his Army from Boulogne....Reply to M. Novosiltzoff's Note....State of the Russian Influence, exerted over Turkey and Persia....French Exposé, in the Conservative Senate, &c....Recriminations upon Austria for violating the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville....Austria charged with passing the Inn, and invading the Elector of Bavaria, and the previous Reception of English Money.... The French Emperor Addresses the Senate.

WE have now to recur to the more immediate causes of the breaking up of the camps on the banks of the sea, to transfer them to those of the Rhine, the Inn, and the Danube. From the tenor of several of the official papers, that had appeared in the course of 1804, on the part of Austria and Russia, it might have been expected, that, ultimately, fresh efforts would be made to assist the English and renew the war. In consequence of these preliminary steps, so early as the 11th of April, a treaty of concert between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, was signed at Petersburgh; in virtue of which, after observing, "That the state of suffering, in which Europe was placed, demanded speedy remedy, the Contracting Parties mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for further encroachments on the part of the French Government. In this view, they agreed to employ the most prompt and most efficacious means to form a general

league of the states of Europe; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, that, independently of the succours furnished by his Britannic Majesty, might amount to 500,000 effective men, and to employ them with energy: in order, either to induce or compel the French Government to consent to the re-establishment of peace, and the balance of Europe.

The objects proposed to be obtained by this league were, the evacuation of the Hanoverian territory and the North of Germany:

The establishment of the independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland:

The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large a territory as circumstances would permit:

The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the island of Elba included, by the French forces:

The establishment of an order of things in Europe which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.

His Britannic Majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as vessels for transporting troops in the general plan of operations; and to assist the different powers by subsidies, which should correspond with the amount of their respective forces so employed.

It was mutually agreed that, in the event of this league being formed, they would not make peace with France, but with the common consent of all the powers who should become parties to it.

Sweden and Austria had already entered into these views, though they had not yet manifested any intention of proceeding to hostilities before they had tried the effect of negotiation: and it seems that Baron Novosiltzoff was on his way to Paris to negociate, and had

reached Berlin, when the intelligence of the annexation of Genoa to the French Empire arrived there: this step was supposed to be of sufficient importance to put a stop to all further proceedings, short of hostilities; for, as it seems that the Baron applied to his Court for instructions, the result was, his recal.—But before his departure, he addressed a Note to Baron Hardenberg, dated July 10, 1805, which was communicated to the latter through the medium of M. La Foret, the French Resident at Berlin. This Note explained the cause of the interruption of the Baron's mission.

This step being looked upon as a signal of Austria to avow herself a member of this new Confederacy, a treaty to that effect was signed, on the 9th of August, by the Austrian Plenipotentiary at Petersburgh.

About the same period, a Note was presented by the Austrian Ambassador at Paris, announcing that the anxious desire of his Government to promote a general pacification had only been interrupted by the changes recently made in the condition of the Republics of Genoa and Lucca. But, though war was predetermined on the part of Austria, the Austrian Minister urged the renewal of measures of conciliation, in which the Court of Vienna, again offered her most earnest assistance: but to the sophistry and political finesse made use of on this occasion, the following Note, from M. Talleyrand, is certainly the best reply; not only because it relates to circumstances of diplomatic duplicity; but because the results of this conduct, on the part of the Allies, are there anticipated in that masterly manner, which has been the general lot of almost every state paper, published on the part of France, from the very first æra of the late, and the present unfortunate war. These papers have, uniformly, foretold defeat and disaster on the part of the enemies of France; and these predictions (our naval victories excepted) have always been realized.

First Note from M. DE TALLEYRAND, *delivered on the 13th of August, 1804, to* COUNT PHILIP COBENTZEL.

"The undersigned has hastened, on the termination of the conference which he has had the honour of holding with Count de Cobentzel, to transmit to Boulogne the Declaration delivered to him by his Excellency, (alluding to the Austrian declaration of the 5th of August) and he has received orders from the Emperor and King to return the following answer:—The Emperor could not fail of being sensibly affected by the sentiments of moderation shewn in the aforesaid Declaration, and by the amicable readiness of his Majesty, the Emperor of Germany and Austria, to hasten, by his interposition, the termination of the evils caused by the war to the French Empire. But the more his Majesty knows how to appretiate the importance and the value of the good offices of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, the more he is grateful for the intention with which the offer of those good offices is made, and the more does he feel that his very sentiments of gratitude forbid him to make use thereof: if, on the one hand, from the nature of things, and, on the other, from the situation of circumstances, it is not even permitted to hope, that they can be employed with advantage, nor, consequently, without comprising the dignity of the Mediator, this motive alone would be decisive for his Majesty, even if it were possible to forget how the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburgh have, very lately, answered his most noble and magnanimous behaviour. M. de Novosiltzoff was *coming* to France without the Emperor's knowing his intentions. The King of Prussia had required passports for this Chamberlain of the Emperor of Russia; the passports were immediately granted without any explanation. What benefit has his Majesty derived from this extraordinary concession? An offensive Note, replete with false assertions, was the sole result from a mission, which the Emperor had neither occasioned nor required.

Being thus attacked in his honour, it is no longer possible for him to require or expect any thing of Russia; who, instead of being desirous of peace, finds her own interest in war, and founds on its renovation hopes, which she attempts in vain to conceal, when her behaviour unveils them even to those eyes which are the least penetrating. For a twelvemonth past the Emperor has received nothing but insults from the Russian Cabinet. His character and his disposition, are too well known for it to be believed, that he will expose himself to fresh injuries. It belongs to the Emperor Alexander to judge which alternative appears most advantageous for him; whether to persist in a system, to the adoption of which he was moved by foreign influence, or to return to more moderate, more just, and wiser sentiments. He has a greater interest in returning to them than France has to lead him back thereto. This alteration must be the result of his own consideration, and cannot form an object of any kind of negotiation. As to England, his Majesty made an attempt, eight months ago, to incline her to peace; which attempt Europe knew how to appretiate, and which would not have been in vain, if England had depended solely upon her own resources; but, from the answer returned by the Cabinet of St. James's, it was clear that it would not think of a peace till it had lost every hope of setting the continent in flames, and of covering Italy with blood and carnage. With this intention, and with this intention alone, it called upon the interposition of Russia. The Cabinet of Vienna is too enlightened not to perceive this, though the projects and motives of England were not known to it, from the pressing solicitations, and from the offer of subsidies with which she has constantly besieged the Court of Vienna, to induce it to take up arms. It cannot be hoped that such a power will listen to the advice of moderation and justice. It would even be useless to speak to it of its interest, which ought to be dearest to it. Blind passions induce it to mistake those interests.

The voice of persuasion would avail nothing; but that which the good offices of Austria cannot induce England to do, Austria can oblige her to do. She needs neither exertions nor menaces for this purpose, but merely to observe a very simple process, which will convince England of her impotence. England knows, and has more than once declared, that Russia alone cannot afford her any assistance, and that a diversion will be of no use to her, as long as Prussia and Austria will not co-operate with her. Prussia has declared, at all times, that she will, in no case, enter into any hostile project against France. Let the Emperor of Austria make the same declaration, and the British Cabinet will immediately feel its own interest, as it is no longer deceived by unfounded imaginations, and informed by the opinion of the most enlightened people of that country; it will immediately see the necessity of returning to the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, and she will find her happiness in this necessity. Then the Emperor of Germany will not only have a claim upon the gratitude of the Emperor of the French, but he will have effected more for his own advantage than if he had gained ten battles against France; for an immediate consequence of the peace would be the performance of the obligation which his Majesty the Emperor of the French has taken upon himself, and which he renews with pleasure, of separating the crowns of France and Italy.—If, on the other hand, Austria, by indecisive measures, leave a doubtful and uncertain opinion; if thereby she authorizes the assertions of the English ministry, that she belongs to a coalition; if she continues to keep 72,000 men in Italy; the Emperor will be obliged to believe, that she sees with a secret joy a war which weakens France, and that she thinks the moment favourable for resuming those hostilities of which the present generation must be tired of being made the victims. His Majesty, who has only 50,000 men in Italy, 15,000 of whom are at the extremity of the Kingdom of Naples,

sees his most important frontier exposed to danger, and cannot provide it with fresh troops without drawing the troops from his Army of the Ocean; he can, therefore, not consider Austria in any other light than that of making a diversion in favour of England, which is as impressive, and more troublesome to him, than would be an open war. His Excellency Count Cobentzel will have remarked what great and extraordinary subjects the present circumstances offer; such circumstances render measures necessary answerable thereto. It is a truth, of which all enlightened men are sensible, and of which his Majesty is penetrated; when Frederic the Second saw that a war was intended against him, he was beforehand with his enemies; the House of Austria has, more than once, done the same. At present the Emperor of the French sees preparations making in Poland and in Italy; even the places where they are made shew that they are the result of an agreement, and point out against whom they are intended. The undersigned must ask of Count Cobentzel. What would the Emperor of Germany do if he were in the place of the French Emperor? However, the Emperor will be happy to suppose the best for futurity, as it depends on Austria to make what is to come happy for Europe, and as he takes the sentiments expressed in the Note, which the undersigned has received of Count Cobentzel, for a good omen. May Austria issue the same declaration which Prussia has made; may she, by acts, confirm that declaration; and reduce her whole force, and the whole artillery, &c. of her army, to the peace establishment; may she no longer keep 72,000 men in Italy; may she order back to their garrisons the regiments assembled to form an army in the Tyrol, and cease the establishing of magazines and the fortified camps, which announce an approaching war, and nothing will further disturb the peace of the Continent; this peace, so desirable to all parties, since France has nothing to gain by a fresh combat; Austria will gain nothing by it, and

the maritime peace will soon follow. When Austria shall have declared that she remains neutral, and will remain neutral, a peace will be the desire and hope of England; it will be concluded, and the Treaty of Amiens will be restored before the month of January. The crowns of France and Italy will be separated for ever: Europe, enjoying security and tranquillity, will owe them to the wisdom of Austria, which, by an opposite behaviour, would have precipitated Europe into a situation, which neither the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, nor the Cabinet of Vienna, nor any other, could calculate or foresee. His Excellency Count Cobentzel will see, that in those communications, which the undersigned has been ordered to make to him, it was impossible for his Majesty to proceed with more openness, dignity, and sincerity. For the interest of Austria herself, and for the glory of her Sovereign, his Majesty wishes that the Emperor of Germany may avail himself of the opportunity which is offered to him: the fate of his own states, and that of Europe, is now in his hands; in one hand he holds the disturbances and revolutions, in the other the general peace: an impartial neutrality, sufficient for him to obtain what he desires and to ensure the peace of the world. The most efficacious mediation of peace which Austria can make consists in the preservation of the most perfect neutrality; in the cessation of armaments; in not obliging France to make a diversion; and in leaving no hope for England of bringing Austria over to her side.

"The undersigned can have no doubt but his Excellency Count Cobentzel will set a due value upon the subjects discussed in the present Note, contribute, by his influence, to have them considered in that point of view, &c.

(Signed) "C. M. TALLEYRAND."

By this Note it appears, as well as from the slight pretext that occasioned the return of Novosiltzoff, that his

coming to negociate was only a political manœuvre, probably to gain time. In this Document it also appears, that what is there styled "the assertions of the English ministry, that she (Austria) belongs to a coalition, was taken up from the paragraphs, inserted several months before as common articles of news in the ministerial newspapers. But, however, the misguided Emperor of Austria could not then see, that the late neutrality, or, rather warfare, which he has been, ultimately, compelled to adopt, would then have been the wisest measure he could have pursued; a measure which might have saved some of the fairest of his provinces and the flower of his armies.

But, contrary to the adoption of a rational system, a few days more made it evident to the French Government, that, as all hopes of convincing the Austrian Emperor of his mistaken policy were vain, it was proper to inform him, they were neither ignorant of the force he was preparing to act against them, nor fearful of the consequences that might arise from it. In a second Note from M. Talleyrand, delivered on the 16th of August, he tells Count Cobentzel all that England then wished to hear.—"His Majesty," said he, "entirely occupied with the war, which England had raised, since he had given Austria no cause of complaint, hoped that Austria would preserve the strictest and most impartial neutrality; but the movements of troops, and the other hostile dispositions in the Hereditary States, at which Europe is either uneasy or astonished, compel his Majesty to demand not only a categorical explanation, but a most speedy one. The repeated accounts, which the Emperor receives from all quarters, *compel him to postpone his projects against England*, and thus Austria has done as much as if she had commenced hostilities; for she has made the most powerful diversion in favour of England. Austria assembles an army in the Tyrol, whilst France has evacuated all Switzerland. His Excellency Count Cobentzel knows very well, that Austria has nearly 72,000 men in Italy,

whilst France has not 50,000 there, 15,000 of whom are on the Gulf of Tarento; and this is the very cause that has principally determined him to *suspend his projects.* Austria raises camp fortifications everywhere, as if a war were already declared, or very near at hand: all the Austrian troops are in motion; all have quitted their garrisons in which they were quartered; all are marching in a direction which announces war; and how, indeed, could the Emperor of Austria assemble so many regiments with a pacific intention in a country so barren and poor as the Tyrol, where he can only maintain them to the detriment of his finances? Why should he establish magazines? why should he order the baking of biscuit? why should he take up so many draught horses? It is a principle in the public law of Europe, that the assembling of troops, establishing of magazines, baking of biscuit, &c. are considered, by all powers, as a declaration of war; especially, if such preparations are made on a frontier which is left unprovided, by a power employed elsewhere, at an opposite and very distant frontier. His Majesty, desirous of reconciling those dispositions with the pacific expressions of the Emperor of Germany, can only reconcile them on the supposition, that this monarch knows nothing of the wrong that has been done to France, and that the diversion, occasioned by his armament, is tantamount to actual hostilities. His Majesty is still desirous of persuading himself, that that Monarch really knows nothing of it; but the natural consequences of a similar error are equally as detrimental to France as positive hostile intentions; and, for this very reason, his Majesty's interest requires to be beforehand with them: it is no longer protestations which can satisfy his Majesty; he cannot admit any intermediate state betwixt that of war or peace; if Austria wants peace, everything in Austria must be restored to the peace establishment; should Austria desire war, his Majesty will have no other alternative, than to throw back upon the aggressor all the

evils which he would bring, not only upon the present generation, but also (his Majesty dares to utter it with pride) upon his *own states and his own family*; for his Majesty will flatter himself *to obtain, in a new war, similar victories as in the preceding*; and to secure himself against those diversions, which are, as it were, the first step of a coalition *in favour of England*.—The undersigned, has, therefore, received orders, on the supposition that Austria is desirous of peace, to demand.—1. That the twenty-one regiments, which have been sent to the German and Italian Tyrol, shall be withdrawn, and that those troops only shall remain, in both the said provinces, which were there six months ago.—2. That the camp fortifications be discontinued: the Emperor does not require that Austria shall not erect real fortifications; the right of erecting them belongs to all states, and precaution often makes it the duty of a prince: but, as Venice is certainly no fortress, the works carrying on there at present are nothing else than campworks.—3. That the troops in Stiria, in Carinthia, in Friuli, and in the Venetian territory, be reduced to the numbers at which they stood six months ago.—Lastly, That Austria declare to England her firm and unshaken determination to preserve an exact and scrupulous neutrality, without taken à part in the present dispute; because it is the duty of Austria, if she will preserve a system of neutrality, to do nothing, either mediately or immediately, in favour of England. The undersigned was also ordered to declare to Count Cobentzel; or, rather, to repeat the declaration, so often made to him, That the dearest wish of the Emperor of the French is, the continuance of the peace with the German Emperor; that his Majesty would unwillingly take those steps which he would be obliged to take by a positive refusal, or even an evasive or dilatory answer, to the demands then made; but that, in a situation like that of Austria, Prince Charles would not hesitate; as that prince is too good a soldier not to behave in a similar manner; and that, if his Ma-

jesty is obliged to repel force by force, he will not commit the fault, to wait until the Russians have joined the Austrains against him. Count Cobentzel knows too well the importance and urgency of the present circumstances, for the undersigned to invite him to hasten, as much as is possible, an answer, which his Majesty expects with an impatience justified on so many grounds."

As Russia had evidently become a party in this new war upon the groundwork of the aggrandizement of France in Germany and Italy; and as this was also an outline in the Russian Notes, &c. it was incumbent on the French Government to reply to these suggestions.—Of course, in answer to the Note addressed to the Court of Berlin by M. Novosiltzoff, the former complained of its being, unseasonably, published in the German journals: that it contained false assertions; that the Emperor of the French had for a long time observed, in silence, the progress of Russia towards the South of Asia; he saw, with just uneasiness, the danger that threatened Persia and Turkey; two great empires, one of which cannot be overcome without involving the other in inevitable ruin; and one of which is the sole barrier between the continent and Russia. The States of the Grand Seignior are not only threatened, but his cabinet is besieged by intriguers and humbled by new demands: all the provinces, particularly those inhabited by the Greeks, were represented as being under the influence of Russian agents. The Russian squadrons pervade the Ottoman seas, and carry arms and recruiting parties to their coasts. It was added, that, in reality, Russia took no sincere part in the interests of the Continent, but interfered in political storms only to increase hatred and inflame passion. Russia had even demanded passports for M. Novosiltzoff, as a negotiator, whom she never sent to Paris: these the Emperor granted, but heard no more of that Minister! All recrimination, therefore, on the part of Russia, the Emperor

viewed as only a pretext, and a pretext without truth. France had broken off no negotiation; since it should be understood, that passports solicited, and obtained, do not constitute a negotiation. France said nothing—Russia alone made a demonstration; viz. a feint, and demanded that one of her agents should be heard; that agent was, abruptly, withdrawn!

The representations of the French Emperor did not terminate here; they also formed the basis of an *Exposé;* which was read, by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the Conservative Senate of France, on the 23rd of September, 1805. The infamy of the war was, in this Document, again imputed to England.—"England," it was said, "was afraid of beholding the French Colonies, once so flourishing, rise from their ruins, and rise, as it were, from their ashes: her insatiable avidity, which coveted the monopoly of the commerce of all nations, and that unbounded pride, which induces her to look upon herself as the mistress of the seas, cherished in her the desire of driving the French flag from those seas, or to reduce it to a state of degradation: the cause, then, that France had to defend was that of Europe. The Emperor, at ease respecting the dispositions of the Continent, turned all his thoughts to the maritime war, for which everything was to be created. Fleets were built; ports were excavated; camps were formed on the shores of the ocean; the Emperor had assembled there all the forces of the Empire, and his troops were preparing for new triumphs. England perceived the dangers with which she was menaced; she wished to obviate them by crimes: assassins were thrown upon the coast of France; (this passage alludes to the French Royalists, said to have been landed by Captain Wright, in the preceding year; who, being made prisoner, was detained in the Temple, with the utmost rigour.) The English ministers to neutral powers became the agents of a warfare of conspiracies and assassinations. The Emperor saw into these

pitiful conspiracies; he treated them with contempt, and was not thereby prevented from offering peace, on the same terms he had before proposed. So much generosity could not assuage, nay, seemed to augment, the frenzy of the Cabinet of St. James's.

"All this while it appeared, that Austria, which had twice experienced, at the end of two disastrous wars, after the Treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, the generosity France was disposed to shew to a vanquished enemy, did not, by any means, pay the same religious observance to treaties as France.

"It was further urged against Austria; that, notwithstanding the stipulations of the two former treaties, the debt of Venice was not discharged; it was even declared extinguished. The French Emperor was aware that his subjects of Milan and Mantua had thus experienced a denial of justice, and that the Court of Vienna had liquidated none of their demands, in contempt of the solemn engagements which it had entered into. He was aware that the commercial relations of his Kingdom of Italy with the Hereditary States were subject to obstructions; and that his subjects found in Austria a very different reception from that which a state of peace gave them a right to expect. As to the indemnities in Germany, Austria had been treated with a partiality that ought to surpass even her expectations; yet her conduct shewed, that she was far from being satisfied. She, alternately, employed arts and menaces to procure from the petty princes the cession of such possessions as suited her.—Thus she acquired Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, and the Isle of Menau, on the same lake, which placed in her hands one of the keys of Switzerland. She obtained the cession of Altkousen from the Teutonic Order, which made her mistress of the important port of Rhinau. She had enlarged her territory by a number of other acquisitions, and was meditating fresh ones. As a means of aggrandisement, she was not afraid to employ evident

usurpations, which she sought to conceal under legal forms. Thus, under colour of a right paramount, (a right which she had renounced by a treaty, and the exercise of which was incompatible with the execution of the Recess of the Germanic Empire) she appropriated to herself some possessions, which she affected to consider in a state of disherison, and without legal proprietors, though the Recess had formally disposed of them towards the division of the indemnities. By these means she disappointed many princes of those possessions which it had been thought just to assign them: under pretence of this right paramount, (which, so far as regarded the Swiss, she called the right *d'incamération*) she carried off considerable sums from Switzerland. She sequestered the fiefs of a neighbouring prince in Bohemia, under pretence of compensations due to the Elector of Saltzburg; of which, contrary to every right, she claimed to be sole arbitress. She persisted, with menaces, to keep recruiting parties in the Bavarian provinces, in Franconia, and Suabia; and interrupted, by every means in her power, the conscription for the Electoral army there, abusing the prerogatives formerly granted to the Head of the German Empire, for the common benefit of the states composing it, and now fallen into disuse. The Recess of the Empire, a consequence and fulfilment of the Treaty of Luneville, had for its object, exclusive of the division of the indemnities, to establish in the South of Germany an equilibrium, which might ensure its independence, and to prevent those eventual causes of misunderstanding and war, which an immediate contact between the territories of France and Austria might frequently give rise to. Such was the view of the mediators and of the German Empire; such was the view of justice, of reason, and of a humane policy, and conformable to the true interests of Austria herself: she, therefore, evidently violated the existing treaties, and every one of her acts may be considered as an infraction of the peace. Since the rupture

of the Treaty of Amiens, Austria had recognised, by her acts, the pretended right of blockade, which the Cabinet of St. James's has dared to arrogate; and according to which, a simple declaration of the English Admiralty is sufficient to put under interdict all the coasts of a vast Empire; she had suffered, without remonstrance or complaint, the neutrality of her flag to be continually violated, to the detriment of France, against whom all the violences offered to neutral flags were evidently directed. All these facts were known to the Emperor; many of them excited his solicitude.

"The Emperor could not, at first, believe that Austria seriously wished for war; that she wished to commit to new hazards, and to condemn to new calamities, her people, fatigued by so many reverses, and exhausted by so many sacrifices. Having had it twice in his power to deprive the House of Austria of half its Hereditary States, far from diminishing its power, he had increased it. If he could not count on its gratitude, he thought he could rely on its faith." (This Document, then proceeding to relate the recent conduct of the Emperor of Austria, observes,) "At length, throwing off the mask, Austria has, in a tardy answer, manifested, by her language, what she had announced by her preparations. To the representations of France she has answered by accusations. She has made herself the apologist of England; and announcing that she was opening her states to two Russian armies, she avowed, openly, the concert that exists between her and Russia in favour of England. The Emperor, however, determined to demand of the Court of Vienna explanations, which should make known the basis upon which negotiations could be carried on. He ordered the Minister of Foreign Relations to prepare a Note to this effect. The courier who was to be the bearer of it, was on the point of setting out, when the Emperor was informed of the invasion of Bavaria. The Elector had been summoned to join his army to that of

Austria; and, as if his anticipated refusal to make common cause with Austria (from which he never received but evil, against France, from which he never received but good,) could have been to the Court of Vienna a just motive for war: the Austrian army, in contempt of all the most sacred rights, passed the Inn, and overrun Bavaria, in profound peace! After such an act of the Court of Vienna, the Emperor could have no longer any thing to demand of it. It became evident, that even this Congress, proposed with a tone so imperious, and with views so visibly hostile to France, was but a new snare for its good faith: that Austria, irrevocably determined on war, would not return to its pacific ideas, and that she was not even free to return to them. The course of exchange, at all places, *proved, evidently*, that a part of the sums granted to the English Minister, to answer his purposes on the continent, had reached its destination; and the power which had so bartered its alliance could no longer spare shedding the blood of its people, the price of which it had received. All farther explanation with the Court of Vienna having thus become impossible, the appeal to arms is the only resource compatible with honour. Let England applaud herself for having at length found Allies; let her rejoice that blood is about to flow over the continent; let her flatter herself that *her* blood will be spared; let her hope to find safety in the discord of other states: her joy will be of short duration; her hope will be in vain; and the day is not far distant when the rights of nations will, at length, be avenged. The Emperor, obliged to repel an unjust aggression, which he had, in vain, exerted himself to prevent, has been obliged to suspend the execution of his first designs. He has withdrawn from the borders of the ocean those veteran bands, so often victorious, and he marches at their head. He will not lay down his arms till he has obtained full and entire satisfaction, and a complete security, as well for his own dominions, as those of his Allies."

But his appeals to Europe, and the French Nation did not rest here. On the 23d of September, addressing the Senate at Paris, he said, he felt it an urgent duty to appear among them, and make them fully acquainted with his sentiments. "I am," said he, "just leaving my capital, to place myself at the head of the army, to carry speedy succours to my Allies. I tremble at the idea of the blood must be spilt in Europe, but the French name will emerge with renovated and increased lustre. What promises I have made to the French People I have fulfilled, and the French People have more than performed every engagement they have made with me. They will, at a moment so important for their glory and mine, persist in asserting the name of the *Great People*; a name with which I greeted them in the midst of the fields of death and glory." He concluded in these words: "Frenchmen! your Emperor will discharge his duty; my soldiers, and the Senate, will also discharge theirs." It is scarcely too much to assert, that no monarch or general was ever better seconded in the field, than Napoleon was after, as well as before, he made this declaration. This effectual aid was quite contrary to the expectation of the English and their Allies, who vainly imagined the French people would have been disheartened at the prospect of a fresh war, and such a formidable coalition, as the united forces of Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria, could not fail to present. Some of the means that produced such an uncommon share of public spirit among the French people it will be our province to notice hereafter, in consequence of those hostilities, which put that public spirit to a proof so severe and difficult, as to have but few examples in history. The means we allude to, are those that always distinguish the great statesman as well as the warrior. Though engaged in preparations for a most formidable campaign, it will appear that the autumn of 1805 was distinguished by an act of toleration in behalf of the poor

Vaudois, or Waldenses, who had been the constant objects of persecution, with all the preceding monarchs of France. The fall of the latter, though it introduced a new order of things, more favourable to religious liberty than any that ever existed before, since the popes exercised their usurpations over churches and kingdoms upon the continent, was, nevertheless, deplored by some who call themselves Protestants! the subjects, too, of a kingdom which lays a claim to being thought one of the most enlightened in the world, and always professes to be governed by a "*most religious and gracious King!*"

THE END OF CHAPTER XIII.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Route and Divisions of the French Army....Proclamation issued by Buonaparté....He passes the Rhine....A Junction formed with the Bavarians....The Austrians advance, under Mack....The Affairs of Wertingen...The Battle of Guntzburg....The French approach towards Ulm.... The Austrians repulsed, in a Sortie, from Ulm....The Archduke Ferdinand, with Twenty-five Thousand Men, escapes from Ulm, is pursued, and overtaken upon the Prussian Territory, which he had violated....The French Emperor's Proclamation, the Evening before the Surrender of Ulm ....Account of the Capitulation....The Conversation between Napoleon and several Officers....The new Idea of a Campaign completed in a Fortnight....Operations upon the Prussian Territory....Proceedings of Marshal Massena in Italy against the Archduke Charles.

THE French army, estimated at about 140,000 men had, in a short time, made very rapid advances towards the scene of action; it moved in six divisions: the first corps, under Marshal Bernadotte, commenced its route from Hanover about the same time that the army set out from Boulogne, and reached Wurtzburgh, in Franconia, on the 23d of September, by the route of Gottingen and Francfort. General Marmont proceeded from Holland to Mentz, at the head of the second corps, and passed the Rhine at Cassel; and the third corps, under Marshal Davoust, passed the Rhine on the 26th, at Manheim, and advanced by Heidelberg and Neckar Eltz, on the Neckar. The fourth corps, under Marshal Soult, passed the Rhine on the same day by a bridge thrown over at Spires, and advanced towards Helibrun on the Neckar. Marshal Ney, with the fifth division, likewise crossed that river, by

a flying bridge opposite Durlach, and marched towards Stutgard. The sixth corps, commanded by Marshal Lannes, passed the Rhine on the 25th, at Kehl, and advanced toward Louisburgh. Prince Murat, with the reserve of the cavalry, passed the Rhine at Kehl, and took a position, in which he remained several days before the defiles of the Black Forest; as it were to make the Austrians believe the French army meant to take that route. On the 30th of September the great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced towards Heilbronn. The main body being upon the German side of the Rhine, the French Emperor issued the following

PROCLAMATION TO THE TROOPS.

"SOLDIERS!

"The war of the Third Coalition has begun: the Austrian army has passed the Inn, violated treaties, and attacked and driven our Ally from his capital—You, yourselves, have been compelled to advance, by forced marches, to the defence of our frontiers. Already you have passed the Rhine. We will not again make peace without a sufficient guarantee.—Our policy shall no more give way to our generosity. Soldiers! your Emperor is in the midst of you: you are only the advanced guard of a great people. If it should be necessary, they will all rise at my voice, to confound and dissolve this new League, which has been formed by the hatred and gold of England. But, Soldiers, we shall have forced marches to make, fatigues and privations of every kind to endure. Whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will overcome them, and shall take no rest till we have planted our Eagles on the territory of our enemies.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON," &c.

Having left his court, accompanied by his staff, and a part of his guards, he crossed the Rhine at Kehl, on the 29th, to join his army: that night he passed at Ettlingen, where he was was visited by the Elector and Princess of Baden; the next day he proceeded to Louisburgh, and took up his residence in the Elector of Wirtemburgh's palace. On the same day the divisions under Bernadotte

and Marmont formed a junction with the Bavarians at Wurtzburgh, and commenced their march to the Danube. Marshal Davoust's corps marched from Neckar Eltz, through Ingelfingen, Dunkelsbuhl, Attingen, and Donawert. Marshal Soult's corps marched through Absgemund, Aalen, and Nordlingen. Marshal Ney also proceeded from Stutgard by Eppingen, Wissenstein, &c. Marshal Lanne's corps took his route from Louisburgh, through Pluterhausen, Aalen, and Oettingen. On the 4th of October, the position of the French was as follows: Bernadotte, and the Bavarians, were at Weissenburgh. Marshal Davoust, at Attingen on the Reinitz. Marshal Soult, at Donawert. Marshal Ney, at Kissingen. Marshal Lannes, at Neresheim; and Murat, with his cavalry, on the borders of the Danube.

On the other hand, the Austrian army, consisting of near 90,000 men, under General Mack, had advanced to the defiles of the Black Forest, apparently with the intention of preventing the French army from penetrating those defiles. They had thrown up fortifications on the river Iller, and were strengthening Memingen and Ulm; but all these precautionary measures were of little avail, as the French armies had taken another route, which the Austrians never suspected, and were already in their rear. It seems that a division, belonging to Marshal Soult, had by means of a forced march, got possession of a bridge at Donawert, defended by the Austrian regiment of Colloredo, and with the loss of only a few men. By daybreak the next morning Murat arrived there also with the French cavalry; and, having passed the bridge, he caused it to be repaired; when, in conjunction with the rest of the cavalry, under General Walther, he passed it, and advanced towards the Lech, where he forced the enemy, there posted, to retreat; Murat remained that night at Rain. On the 6th, Marshal Soult, with the two divions of Generals Vandamme and Legrand, marched towards Augsburgh, while General St. Helaire, with his division, advanced to

the same point, by the left bank of the Danube. On the same morning, Prince Murat, at the head of several divisions of cavalry, arrived at Wertingen, in order to cut off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg; here he encountered a considerable body of the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of Alber's cuirassiers. Marshal Lannes, who, with Oudinot's division, had followed these corps, succeeded in defeating and making a part of this portion of the Austrian army prisoners, together with their artillery and baggage. The Austrians on this occasion lost eight standards, the whole of their cannon, a number of officers, and 4,000 men, rank and file.

On the same day, intelligence was received that Marshal Davoust's corps had arrived at Newburg, and that of Marmont and his corps, with the Bavarians, had advanced to Eichtettin. Marshal Soult, after having put to flight a body of Austrians, that had fallen back upon Aicha, entered Augsburg on the 7th with the divisions of Vandamme, St. Helaire, and Le Grand. Davoust, who had passed the Danube at Newburg, also arrived at Aicha with his divisions, on the evening of the 9th. The Dutch troops, under General Dumoncean, had taken post between Aicha and Augsburg.—Bernadotte, with the Bavarians, under Generals De Roy and Verden, had taken possession of Ingoldstadt; and the Imperial guard, under Marshal Bessieres, and Hautpoult's cuirassiers, arrived at Augsburg. By this time, also, Murat's cavalry had occupied the village of Zummerhausen, to intercept the road from Augsburgh to Ulm. Marshal Lannes, with the divisions of Oudinot and Suchet, took post, on the same day, at this village. Here the French Emperor reviewed the troops, and expressed his satisfaction with their behaviour at the affair of Wertingen; he also bestowed marks of honour upon two dragoons, who had particularly distinguished themselves.

This action at Wertingen was soon followed by one at Guntzburg; where Marshal Ney, with several divisi-

ons, and the dismounted dragoons of Barraguay d'Hilliers, having re-ascended the Danube, attacked the enemy, first in their position at Grunberg, and, afterwards, succeeded in passing the river at Guntzburg, notwithstanding a gallant resistance on the part of the Austrians, who had advanced from Ulm to that place, with the view of collecting a sufficient force to act upon the offensive. With this force they occupied Guntzburg: its right wing rested upon the village of Limpach and its left on the Kaisersberg. The Austrians were also in possession of the bridges on the Danube as far as Leipheim. The French, however, attacked the bridges, which were defended with obstinacy: the first the assailants made themselves masters of was that of Guntzburg, and the causeway leading thereto. The Archduke Ferdinand made a brave attempt to defend this post, but was, finally, forced to abandon it, and retreat to Ulm, with the loss of some thousands of men, and the greatest part of his cannon. On the other hand, it was stated that the French suffered considerably from the grape shot of the enemy, though they were amply recompensed by obtaining possession of a fine military position. During these transactions the centre of the French army passed the Danube at Donawert, and the left wing still lower down, at Ingoldstadt. The latter afterwards took post at Pleffenhausen, on the road to Munich, under Marshal Bernadotte; whilst the main body proceeded across the river Lech, towards Augsburgh, which city then became the French head quarters. By this succession of bold and rapid movements the whole of the French army had now placed themselves between Vienna and the Austrian General Mack. Flushed with these auspicious presages of good fortune, those that followed will be viewed with less astonishment.

The French approaching Ulm on all sides, on the 10th of October the enemy made a sortie from that city and attacked the division of General Dupont. The battle, the French official paper said, was most obstinate.—"Sur-

rounded by twenty-five thousand men, these six thousand brave fellows opposed them on all sides, and took 1,500 prisoners! This corps," it was added, "should not be astonished at any thing"

On the 13th the Emperor went, in person, to the camp before Ulm, and ordered the army of the enemy to be invested. The first operation was to take possession of the bridge and position of Elchingen: he took up his head quarters at the abbey of that place; and on the 15th, at daybreak, the Emperor himself appeared before Ulm; after which Murat's corps, and that of Marshal Lannes, put themselves in order of battle, to assault and force the enemy's intrenchments before that city. The day was dreadful; the troops were up to their knees in mud: the Emperor had not taken off his boots for eight days!

Prince Ferdinand had marched off in the night towards Biberach, leaving twelve battalions in the town and upon the heights of Ulm, which were all taken, with a considerable quantity of cannon. On the same day it was announced in the bulletin, that, since the commencement of the campaign, the French had made 20,000 prisoners, taken 30 pieces of cannon, and 20 standards, with very small loss on their part. "If to the deaths," say these accounts, the desertions are added, the Austrian army is already reduced one half!"

It ought to be remarked, that, in consequence of the preceding movements made by the French armies, the neutrality of Prussia was manifestly violated; as they not only passed through the territory of Anspach and Bayreuth, but occupied those countries. This was a step next to morally impossible for the Austrians to have foreseen; this movement, also, by shortening the route of the French army, gave it incalculable advantages. In the meanwhile the Archduke Ferdinand had no alternative left, but that of sharing the fate of Mack and the rest of the Austrians shut up in Ulm, or that of endeavouring to force his way to Bohemia through Franconia: with 25,000

men he boldly attempted the latter, crossed the Danube and advanced to Nordlingen; where one whole division, amounting to about 12,000 men, were obliged to lay down their arms. The French pursued their advantages, and again fell in with the remains of the Archduke's corps between Traun and Nuremberg, where they made more prisoners, and the Austrian artillery: they then desisted from the pursuit, and the Archduke made good the rest of his retreat with the wreck of his forces, mostly cavalry.

It may be proper now, to return again to the situation of Ulm: this city was so completely invested, that no possibility was left for General Mack to escape, but by forcing a passage through an army four times superior to his own; this was a measure too dangerous to attempt. Buonaparté had prepared the minds of his soldiers for much greater resistance; as, on the evening before the surrender of that city, he issued the following striking

ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

"Soldiers! a month ago we were encamped on the shores of the ocean, opposite to England; but an impious Leaugue compelled us to fly towards the Rhine.

"It is but a fortnight since we passed that river; and the Alps of Wirtemberg, the Necker, the Danube, and the Lech, those celebrated barriers of Germany, have not retarded our march a day, an hour, or an instant!—Indignation against a Prince, whom we have twice reseated on his throne, when it depended entirely on our pleasure to hurl him from it, supplied us with wings. The enemy's army, deceived by our manœuvres and the rapidity of our movements, is completely turned; it now fights only for its safety! it would gladly embrace an opportunity of escaping and returning home; but it is now too late. The fortifications which it erected, at a great expense, along the Iller, expecting that we should advance through the passes of the Black Forest, are become useless, since we have approached by the plains of Bavaria.

"Soldiers! but for the army which is now in front of you we should, this day, have been in London; we should have avenged

ourselves for six centuries of insults, and restored the freedom of the seas!

"But bear in mind, to-morrow, that you are fighting against the Allies of England; that you have to avenge yourselves on a perjured Prince, whose own letters breathed nothing but peace, at the moment when he was marching his army against our Ally; who thought us cowardly enough to suppose, that we should tamely witness his passage of the Inn, his entry into Munich, and his aggression upon the Elector of Bavaria. He thought we were occupied elsewhere; let him, for the third, and last time, learn, that we know how to be present in every place where the country has enemies to combat.

"Soldiers! to-morrow will be an hundred times more celebrated than the Day of Marengo—I have placed the enemy in the same position.

"Recollect, that the most remote posterity will remark the conduct of each of you on this memorable day.—Your progeny, five hundred years hence, who may place themselves under those Eagles, around which we rally, will know, in detail, every thing that your respective corps shall achieve to-morrow, and the manner in which your courage shall confer on them eternal celebrity.—This will constitute the perpetual subject of their conversation; and, from age to age, you will be held up to the admiration of future generations.

"Soldiers! If I wished only to conquer the enemy, I should not have thought it necessary to make an appeal to your courage and your attachment to the country and to my person; but merely to conquer him is doing nothing worthy either of you or your Emperor. It is necessary that not a man of the enemy's army shall escape; that that Government, which has violated all its engagements shall first learn its catastrophe by your arrival under the walls of Vienna; and that, on receiving this fatal intelligence, its conscience (if it listen to the voice of conscience) shall tell it, that it has betrayed both its solemn promises of peace, and the first of the duties bequeathed by its ancestors, with the power of forming the rampart of Europe against the irruptions of the Cossacs.

"Soldiers, who have been engaged in the affairs of Wertingen and Gunzburg! I am satisfied with your conduct: every corps in the

army will emulate you; and I shall be able to say to my People—'Your Emperor and your Army have done their duty; perform yours:' and the two hundred thousand conscripts, whom I have summoned, will hasten, by forced marches, to reinforce our second line.

Signed "NAPOLEON."

As we cannot possibly relate the affair of Ulm with more brevity than that of the French bulletins, we shall extract from a few of these documents, and, occasionally, add to them such information as we have derived from other quarters.

"The day of Ulm was one of the most brilliant in the history of France.—The Emperor might have taken the place by assault, but twenty thousand men, defended by fortifications and wet ditches, would have made a resistance, and his desire was to save the effusion of blood. General Mack, Commander-in-Chief of the army, was in the town: it is the fate of generals opposed to the Emperor to be taken in fortified places. It will be recollected, that, after the brilliant movements on the Brenta, the old Field-marshal Wurmser was made prisoner in Mantua; Melas was also at Alexandria; Mack is so at Ulm! The Austrian army was one of the finest that Austria ever had: it consisted of fourteen regiments of infantry, of the army of Bavaria, as it is called; thirteen regiments from the Tyrol, and five regiments which had been sent in waggons from Italy: altogether, thirty-two regiments of infantry and fifteen regiments of cavalry.

"The Emperor had placed the army of Prince Ferdinand in the same situation in which he placed that of Melas. After having long hesitated, Melas adopted the noble resolution of piercing through the French army, which occasioned the battle of Marengo. Mack took another resolution: Ulm is the point of union of a great number of high roads; he had formed the plan of making his divisions retreat by these roads, to re-assemble them

in Bohemia and the Tyrol. The divisions of Hohenzollern and Werneck marched off by Heydenheim.—A small division retreated by Memmingen; but the Emperor, on the 12th, hastened from Ausburgh to Ulm, immediately disconcerted the projects of the enemy, ordered the bridge and position of Elchingen to be carried, which rendered everything secure.

"As the Emperor was passing through a crowd of prisoners, an Austrian colonel expressed his astonishment to see the Emperor of the French wet, covered with dirt, as much and more fatigued than the meanest drummer in his army. One of his aids-de-camp having explained to him what the Austrian officer said, the Emperor ordered this answer to be made: 'Your Master wished to make me recollect that I was a soldier; I hope he will allow that the throne and the imperial purple have not made me forget my first profession.'

"The appearance of the army on the 15th was really most interesting.—For two days the rain fell in torrents; the whole army was dripping wet; the soldiers had no provisions distributed to them; they were up to the knees in mud! But the Emperor infused fresh spirits into them; and, at the moment he perceived whole columns in this state, he ordered 'Long live the Emperor!' to be cried.

"It is also mentioned, that the Emperor replied to the officers who surrounded him, and who expressed their surprise, how, in a moment of such distress, the soldiers could forget all their wants, and appear only sensible to the pleasure of seeing him—'They are in the right; it is to spare their blood that I make them undergo such great fatigue.'

"The Emperor, when the army occupied the heights which command Ulm, sent for the Prince of Lichtenstein, Major general, who was shut up in the town, to communicate to him; that he wished it would capitulate; telling him, that, if he took it by storm, he would be under the necessity of *acting as he did at Jaffa*, where the whole

garrison was put to the sword; that it was one of the melancholy rights of war; that he wished that both he, and the brave Austrian nation, were spared the necessity of so dreadful an action; that the place was not tenable; that it ought, therefore, to surrender." The Prince required that the officers and soldiers should have liberty to return to Austria.—"I will grant it," replied the Emperor, "to the officers, but not to the soldiers; for who will be my security that they will not be made to serve again?" Then, after having hesitated a moment, he added: "Well then, I will rely upon the word of Prince Ferdinand.—If he is in the town, I wish to give him a proof of my esteem, and I will grant to him what you require of me, hoping that the Court of Vienna will not break the word of one of its Princes." Upon M. de Lichtenstein assuring him that Prince Ferdinand was not in the town, "Then," said the Emperor, "I do not see who is to be my guarantee, that the soldiers I send you back will not be employed again."

"On the 15th, Marshal Bernadotte having pushed his advanced posts as far as Wasserbourg and Haag, on the high road of Brannau, took four or five hundred prisoners, and 17 pieces of cannon, of different sizes; having thus taken since his entry at Munich, 1,500 prisoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 200 horses, and a quantity of baggage, *without the loss of a single man!*

"The Emperor passed the Rhine on the 1st of October; the Danube the 6th, at five o'clock in the morning; the Lech the same day, at half past three; his troops entered Munich on the 12th; his advanced guard arrived on the Inn on the 15th: on the same day he was master of Memmingen, and on the 17th of Ulm:

"He took from the enemy, at the battles of Wertingen, Guntzburgh, Elchingen, the days of Memmingen, and Ulm, and in the actions of Albreck, Langenau, and Neresheim, 40,000 men, infantry as well as cavalry; more than 40 stand of colours; a great number of cannon,

baggage waggons, &c.; and, to accomplish all this, only marches and manœuvres were employed!

"In these partial actions the loss of the French army amounts to no more than 500 killed and 1,000 wounded! It is a common remark among the troops; "The Emperor has found out a new method of making war—he only makes us use our legs instead of our bayonets." Five-sixths of the army have never fired a shot, which has mortified them much; but they have all marched a great deal, and they redouble their activity when they have hopes of overtaking the enemy.

"The eulogy of the army may be made in a few words —it is worthy of its Chief.

"The Austrian army may be considered as annihilated. The Austrians and Russians will be obliged to make many levies of recruits to resist the French army, which has destroyed an army of 100,000 men, without experiencing, we may say, any loss!"

Thus it appears, that Ulm was forced to capitulate; for General Mack did not take long to deliberate after the summons had been sent him to surrender the place. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, he agreed to give up the city, with all its artillery and magazines, and that the garrisons, of about 30,000 men, after marching out with all the honours of war, should lay down their arms; the field-officers to be allowed to return to Austria upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers to be sent prisoners into France, there to remain until exchanged. It was stipulated, however, that the Austrian General, Mack, should be allowed the interval up to the 25th, at twelve o'clock, before which he was not to be required to carry the capitulation into effect; and then, if an Austrian or Russian army should arrive in sufficient force to raise the blockade of Ulm, or before twelve at midnight on the 25th, the garrison, and the commandant, should be entirely released from the terms of the capitulation.

Impatient at the delay which these terms would have produced, and eager to lose no time in making head against the Austrians and Russians, collecting on the Inn, Buonaparté invited General Mack to an interview on the 19th; the result of which was, that Mack, on the assurance of the French Marshal, Berthier, that no succour could possibly arrive before Ulm, signed an additional article, by which he agreed to evacuate the place, and surrender the army on the next day, the 20th, on the mere condition that the corps commanded by Marshal Ney, consisting of twelve regiments of infantry, and four of cavalry, should not advance beyond ten leagues from Ulm and its environs, before the 25th at midnight, the period when the former capitulation was to have expired!

Mack's conduct, in this latter proceeding, can only be accounted for either by folly or villainy; but, whatever were his motives, the Austrian garrison, in compliance with the new capitulation, marched out the day following; and, after filing before the French Emperor, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Buonaparté, who had taken an advantageous station to behold this operation, for General Mack, and the other Austrian generals; and while their troops were filing by addressed them to the following effect: "Gentlemen! your Master wages an unjust war: I tell you plainly, I know not for what I am fighting, I know not what can be required of me; my resources are not confined to the present army. These prisoners of war, now on their way to France, will observe the spirit which animates my people, and with what eagerness they flock to my standards. At a single word, 200,000 volunteers crowd to my standard, and, in six weeks become good soldiers! whereas, your recruits only march from compulsion, and do not become good soldiers till after several years. Let me advise my brother, the Emperor, to hasten to make peace. All states must have an end; and, in the present

crisis, he must feel serious alarms, lest the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine should be at hand." He concluded by saying, "I desire nothing further upon the continent; I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

General Mack is reported to have said, in reply, "That the Emperor of Germany had not wished for war, but was compelled to it by Russia." "If that be the case," said Buonaparté, "You are no longer a power." Several other Austrian generals are said to have expressed their dislike to a war which admitted a Russian army into the heart of their country. The French Emperor treated these officers with civility; and to console them, observed, "That the chances of war were various, and that the conquerors might be conquered in their turn."

By the adoption of a phrase, till then unknown among generals or historians, the exploits of a few days were denominated *a campaign*. The following Address was looked upon as a perfect novelty:

Imperial head-quarters at Elchingen, October 21

"Soldiers of the Grand Army! in a fortnight we have finished a campaign: we have accomplished our purpose: we have expelled the troops of the House of Austria from Bavaria, and re-established our Ally in the sovereignty of his states. That army, which, with equal ostentation and imprudence, had posted itself on our frontiers, is annihilated. But what does this signify to England? her purpose is accomplished; we are no longer at Boulogne, and the amount of her subsidy will thereby be neither encreased nor diminished.

"Of 100,000 men, who composed that army, 60,000 are prisoners; they will go to take the place of our conscripts in the labours of our fields. Two hundred pieces of cannon (their whole park,) ninety stand of colours, and all their generals, are in our hands; there have not escaped of this army 15,000 men; Soldiers! I had an-

nounced to you a great battle; but thanks to the bad combinations of the enemy, I have been able to obtain the same success without running any risk; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, so important a result has not diminished our force by more than 1,500 men!

"Soldiers! you owe this success to your unbounded confidence in your Emperor; to your patience in supporting fatigues and privations, of every description, and to your singular intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign. We are about to make that Russian army, which the gold of England has transported from the extremities of the universe, undergo the same fate.

"In this contest is more particularly implicated the honour of the infantry: it is this which will, a second time, decide the question, already resolved in Switzerland and Holland—whether the French-infantry be the second or the first in Europe? Here there are no generals in combating whom I can have any glory to acquire.—All my care shall be to obtain the victory with the least possible effusion of blood—my soldiers are my children.

Given at my imperial camp Elchingen, 29th Vendemire, 14th year, (21st of October 1805.)

Respecting the violation of the Prussian territory by the French, it does not seem that the Austrians were by any means tender on that subject, when they were closely pressed. The tenth bulletin gives the following account of its *violation* by the Austrian Duke Ferdinand.

"Immediately on the capitulation of General Werneck, near Nordlingen, Prince Ferdinand, with a body of 1,000 cavalry, and some artillery, had moved forward; he threw himself into the Prussian territory, and was proceeding by Gunzenhausen towards Nuremberg.—Prince Murat pursued him, without delay, and succeeded in overtaking him; on which an action ensued, on the

road from Furth to Nuremburg on the evening of the 21st. The remainder of the park of artillery, and the whole of the baggage were taken. The horse chasseurs of the Imperial guard covered themselves with glory they overthrew every thing that opposed them; they charged Mack's regiment of cuirassiers. The two regiments of carbiniers also sustained their reputation."

We shall now advert to the proceedings of the army of Italy, under Marshal Massena, against the Archduke Charles.

In Italy, Marshal Massena's army having been strongly reinforced, it had to oppose a well composed Austrian force, under their favourite commander—But here, as well as in Germany, no time was to be lost, as a combined force of Russians and British were collected at Corfu and and Malta, for the purpose of making a descent in Italy; while another army, of Russians, Swedes, and English, were prepared in the North of Germany, to invade Hanover, or for other enterprises, as occasion might offer. The Archduke and General Massena being in the face of each other, on the opposite sides of the river Adige, waited only for the signal of attack; and, on the 17th of October, Massena prepared to force the passage of that river: his army is said to have amounted to 90,000 men; the Austrians, under the Archduke, were estimated at 75,000. In consequence of the preparations made on the part of the French, early on the morning of the 18th Massena caused two false attacks to be made, one on their right the other on their left, while, with the centre of his army, he attempted to, force the bridge of Verona; this bridge was barricadoed, and some of the arches cut. These impediments the French overcame with great fortitude, and twenty-four companies of light troops, selected from the divisions of Gardanne and Dubesme, pushed forward across the river, and were soon followed by the whole division, and shortly after, by all the rest of the army. The Austrians made a gallant resistance, but were obliged to retire

to the heights, at some distance, where they had intrenchments: here, however, the attack was renewed; and, if the French gained any advantage, it was so inconsiderable, that they judged it expedient to recross the Adige and occupy their former ground. The Austrians lost seven pieces of cannon, 18 waggons, and about 1,200 prisoners: numbers were killed and wounded on both sides.

On the 20th the French renewed the attack, and again passing the Adige, they mounted and took possession of the heights of Val Pantena, surrounded the castle of San Felici, and compelled the Austrians to evacuate Venoretto; but advancing on the road of St. Michael, they met with serious opposition from the Austrians, though the latter, were, at length, driven, with the loss of 1,500 prisoners and two pieces or cannon.

Hitherto it was thought Massena had been rather confined in his operations, not caring to advance too far before he received information of the state of the campaign in Germany: however, he took post within a few miles of Caldiero, near which the Archduke was strongly posted. Nothing material occurred for several days; when Massena having received the account of the surrender of General Mack's army at Ulm, he began to press forward with the utmost diligence, to execute the plans of co operation which had been designed for him: accordingly, on the 30th of October, he commenced a very vigorous attack upon the whole line of the Archduke's army; General Mollitor formed the left, the centre was commanded by General Gardanne, the right by General Duhesme.—The action began upon the left, and the three successive attacks were bravely resisted by the Austrians, who were, at length, forced to retire to the adjacent heights; here the battle was renewed: twenty-four battalions of grenadiers, and some other regiments, were ordered by the Archduke to advance against the enemy: both sides fought with great fury; the French cavalry, at

length, made some impression by their charges: the Austrian grenadiers fought with the bayonet, in which they were assisted by the fire of 30 pieces of cannon; notwithstanding which, they were, ultimately, driven from the field, with the loss of upwards of 3,000 prisoners. The Archduke demanded a suspension of arms, to bury the dead; which was granted: but this was not the only loss they sustained: a column of 5,000 men, which had been detached from General Rosenburgh's corps, with the design of falling upon the rear of the French, was, by the issue of the battle, completely cut off.—General Hellinger, who commanded it, at first manifested an intention to defend himself, and even compelled a regiment, sent against him, to take shelter under the walls of a castle: but he was obliged to desist; for Massena having repaired, in person, to the spot, and four battalions of French grenadiers having surrounded the column, the Austrian general entered into a capitulation and laid down his arms.

Thus it appears that the Archduke, being sensible of his inability to resist the French in this quarter; and, no doubt, being anxious to relieve the Capital of Vienna from the danger that threatened it, from the rapid advances of the grand army, under the Emperor Napoleon, came to the determination of making a positive retreat. —In the meanwhile, General St. Cyr having evacuated the kingdom of Naples, conformable to a convention entered into with his Sicilian Majesty, reinforced the army of Massena with 25,000 men. Here we will leave Massena, to attend to the more rapid progress of the Imperial arms, on the high road to Vienna.

THE END OF CHAP. XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

Consequences of the Defeats at Ulm, &c....The French Emperor proceeds to Munich....The Disposition of the French Army....They pass the River Inn near Brannau.... The Retreat of the Russians and Austrians towards Vienna ....Emperor of Austria's Proclamation....Defeat of different Corps of Austrians and Russians....Saltzburg, Lintz, and the Ems, abandoned....The Russians make a Stand at Amstettin....Defeated....Count Giulay proposes an Armistice, in the Name of the Allies....Refused....The French Advance ...Affair of Marienzell ...The Emperor of Austria's Proclamations disregarded by the People of Vienna ....He removes, with his Court, to Brunn....The French take Possession of Vienna without firing a Gun....Their orderly and quiet Behaviour....A Part of their Army pass through towards Moravia....Deception practised upon the Prince D'Aversperg ...The Russians driven....Uncommon Valour of Five Thousand French, against Twenty Thousand Russians, at Steen....The Emperor of Austria leaves Brunn for Olmutz....Another Proclamation....The French, in their Turn, imposed upon, by a Russian Stratagem....Suspected by Buonaparté....Russians attacked and pursued....Events that led to the memorable Battle of Austerlitz.

THE Emperor Napoleon, having ordered the states belonging to the House of Austria to be taken possession of, and the Austrian prisoners to be sent to France, with the demolition of the fortifications of Ulm and Memmingen, set out, with the greatest part of his army, for Augsburg, on his route for Bavaria: he ordered bridge-heads to be raised on the bridges over the Lech, and magazines to be formed beyond them. On the evening of the 24th he reached Munich, the Bavarian capital,

where he was joined by Prince Murat, and received great honours. Murat had left a division of the troops, with whom he had pursued the Archduke Ferdinand, on the other side of the Danube, under Barraguay D'Hillier and General Mortier, and ordered them to observe the motions of the Austrians. While Napoleon was at Munich the disposition of the French army was thus arranged: the Emperor, at the head of the main body, advanced towards Vienna, and had in his front a corps of Austrians, which had been just reinforced by the first column of the Russian army. To protect his flanks and rear, he ordered the division under Mortier to watch the motions of the Austrians in Bohemia, under the Archduke Ferdinand; this secured his left: his right was protected by Marshal Ney, who mounted the Lech up to the confines of the Tyrol, and checked the Austrians in that country, under the Archduke John. In addition to these corps, the division of Marshal Augereau, who had, subsequently, passed the Rhine, occupied the posts of Swabia about the Lake of Constance; thus securing any attempt that might have been made from the Vorarlberg, and, perhaps, to have made head against any Prussian force that might have crossed the Danube after the violation of the territory of Anspach.

The centre of the French army had now reached the Inn, where the Austrians and Russians were posted, and, on the 28th, they effected a passage over that river, in the vicinity of Brannau. Marshal Bernadotte, who had advanced by Wafferburg, proceeded, on the 27th, to Altingmarkt; there he found the bridge broken down, and a strong fort opposed to him: but a corps of French and Bavarians, who had proceeded by Roth to Rotherheim, found the passage of the river more practicable at that place, and succeeded in crossing it.—The enemy were obliged to retreat; and, in consequence, both this bridge and that at Altingmarkt were repaired.

Davoust's corps, which took the route by Freying, after

some opposition, passed the bridge at Multdorf; Murat, with the cavalry, passed over the bridges at Oeting and Marchiel. The Austrians and Russians, finding their force inadequate to any effectual opposition, retreated, step by step, towards Vienna, where all the citizens, capable of bearing arms, were embodied, and a proclamation issued; in which the Emperor of Austria made a boast of "trusting in the justice of his cause, and in the love and energy of twenty-five millions of people, aided by the powerful assistance of his Russian auxiliaries!" The Emperor of Austria did not hint at the number of women and children among these twenty-five millions of people; but the event shewed that he might have trusted his cause to those with as much effect as to their fathers, their husbands, or even his *powerful* Russian auxiliaries!

The right bank of the Inn being now left undefended, Marshal Lannes entered Brannau on the 29th, a place of considerable strength, with considerable magazines of artillery, powder, and military stores, which proved a seasonable supply to the French army: Napoleon arrived on the 30th, and fixed his head-quarters at Brannau. From hence Bernadotte was detached to the right, to occupy Saltzburg, so as to intercept the communication between the army under the Archduke Charles, in the Venetian territory, and the Austro-Russians. A corps of 6,000 Austrians, stationed near Saltzburg, that retreated to Oells, were pursued by the French advanced guard, under Kellerman, and overtaken near Pasling; where, notwithstanding their strength and position, they retired, loosing some hundreds of prisoners. Prince Murat, with his cavalry, was the first to overtake the Austrian rear guard (about 6,000 men) posted on the heights of Ried: they were charged with great impetuosity by the French horse, and forced to give way: the enemy, however, rallied, to protect their baggage, but, after an obstinate conflict, were put to flight, leaving four or five hundred prisoners. Murat, continuing the pursuit on the 31st,

again fell in with the enemy's rear near Lambach: here, in consequence of a shew of resistance, the Allies lost a few pieces of cannon and about 400 men, 100 of whom were Russians. It was now the object of the Allies to secure a position behind the Ems; but Prince Murat took possession of Oells on the 1st of November, and, on the same day, General Melhaud, with his reserve of cavalry, entered Lintz, and found considerable magazines. The main body of the French army were at the heels of the advanced guard: Marshal Davoust approached Styr, on the Ems; and Napoleon, whose head quarters were at Laybach, made his arrangements for driving the enemy from the banks of the Ems, the last line of defence which remained to them between that river and Vienna: but, as they were aware of the dispositions made for turning their left flank, and observing the enemy approaching their front with boldness, they abandoned the defence of the Ems and retired slowly towards Vienna. The French army lost no time in crossing this river, and pressed forward with eagerness towards the Austrian Capital, which was in a state of great consternation and confusion. The Russian army made a stand on the heights of Anstettin, in order to resist the progress of the French: they were attacked by Prince Murat's cavalry and General Oudinot's grenadiers, and, finally, obliged to quit the field, leaving 1,600 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Thus the Russians, whose hardiness and valour had been the constant theme of the English newspaper makers, proved equally as weak and as inconsiderable as their Allies, when they came to be opposed by the superior activity and military skill of the French!

On the 7th of November, at night, the Austrian Count Giulay was sent to the French head-quarters, to try if some respite could not be obtained, under the idea of a negotiation. Napoleon's head-quarters were at Lintz; and this Count came with proposals in the name of the Emperor of Germany, and his Allies, to conclude an ar-

mistice of a few weeks, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation for a general peace. Buonaparté expressed his readiness to accede to the armistice on condition that the Austrian Monarch would cause the Allied Troops to return home, the Hungarian levy to be disbanded, and the Duchy of Venice and the Tyrol to be occupied by the French army. With this reply Count Giulay returned to his court, and Buonaparté continued his plan of operations.

Murat had already restored the bridges over the Ips, and on the 7th established his head-quarters at the celebrated Abbey of Moel: his advanced posts were pushed to St. Polten. Mortier had contrived, with part of his corps, to keep pace on the left bank of the Danube, with the main army on the opposite side, so as to render it material assistance. Davoust now advanced from Steyr by Naydhoffen, Marienzel, and Lilienfeldt, with the project of coming upon the left of the Allies, stationed at St. Polten; whilst the French Emperor, with the centre, moved on to attack the front.

On the 8th the French attacked a division of Austrians, under General Meerveldt, near Marienzel, on the road to Vienna, and took three standards, 16 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 prisoners. The remains of this Austrian corps, took the route for Hungary in great haste.

The French Emperor's head-quarters being now at the Abbey of Moelk, a deputation from the magistrates of Vienna waited upon him; imploring him to treat their city with lenity, as the unfortunate inhabitants were not the cause of the war. He replied, they must take care not to open their gates to the Austrians or Russians, but only to the French army.

On the 7th of November, the Austrian Emperor finding that his whining proclamations were treated by the people as they merited, thought it best to retire, and leave them to the mercy of his enemies. He, therefore, set out, with his court, to Brunn, in Moravia: his nobles,

like other parasites and *life and fortune men*, fled at the same time! The bulk of the people, in the meanwhile, waited patiently for the French: tired of the war, and pressed down to the earth with taxes, and despairing for the want of trade; to them a change could scarcely be for the *worst*, it might even be for the *better*. Besides, they hated the Russians, the agents of "religious and regular governments," for their barbarity. Of course, the French took possession of the Imperial capital of Vienna, without firing a gun.

The most respectable of the inhabitants even formed a national guard, under the direction of the French General, who was made governor of the city! so that the public peace was not in the least interrupted.

The French advanced guard first appeared before Vienna on the 11th, the next day the main body arrived, and were lodged in the suburbs, where their enemies acknowledged they conducted themselves in an orderly and quiet manner; but they did not enter the city till the 13th, when they found it totally evacuated by the military, and the inhabitants mounting guard.

Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, marched through the city without halting, and passed the bridge over the Danube without resistance. There was, indeed, a corps of Austrians stationed, under Prince Auerssperg, at the bridge, for the purpose of destroying it in case of necessity, and their preparations were made for so doing. Murat, aware of this circumstance, rode up in full speed to this officer, assured him, on his word of honour, that an armistice had been concluded; and, by this artifice, he prevailed upon his credulity so far as to prevent the destruction of the bridge, which might have considerably retarded the advance of the French army into Moravia.

On the 14th the divisions of Marshal Soult and Davoust passed the river, treading in the footsteps of Murat; part of the latter corps, however, was detached down the Danube towards Presburgh, in Hungary. On this day,

likewise, Buonaparté made his entry into Vienna, and he employed a great portion of the ensuing night in visiting his outposts beyond the Danube. Buonaparté then retired to the Imperial Palace of Shoenbrun, which he had chosen for his residence.

The French found at Vienna an immense quantity of military stores, of all kinds, ammunition in great abundance, and a vast number of pieces of artillery, of various sorts. The number of muskets found in the arsenal was, likewise, very considerable, 15,000 of which Buonaparté presented to the Elector of Bavaria; and he, likewise, caused to be restored to that Prince the artillery taken on former occasions from the Electorate; great requisitions of cloth and wine were also made for the supply of the army. On this day Buonaparté received a deputation of the citizens, and told them, that they might assure the people of Vienna of his protection.

On the 15th, Buonaparté having appointed General Clarke governor of Upper and Lower Austria, passed through Vienna to join the army, which was now advancing into Moravia. The Russians, which had been driven back from Brannau to St. Polten, crossed the Danube at Krems; on the 9th they were met, on the left bank of the river, by Mortier's corps, consisting of about 5,000 men; on the 10th, in the vicinity of Diernstein, the Russians were attacked, and forced to retire from Weiskirchen to Stein.

The Russians, in their turn, to the number of 20,000, attacked the French the next morning early. The French, notwithstanding their superior number, repulsed them, after repeated attempts. But the Russian General had calculated on another manœuvre; he had detached two columns, by a difficult pass, to turn the enemy. This plan partly succeeded; Mortier was obliged to cut his way through the Russian lines, which was accomplished with great difficulty and considerable loss; besides a

great number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair General Mortier was severely wounded. The loss on the side of the Russians was not unimportant, but none more to be regretted than the death of Lieutenant-general Smedt, an officer of great repute in the Austrian service, acting as Quarter-master-general to the Russian army; he was also much in the confidence of the Archduke Charles. The Russians, after this last affair, fell back upon Brunn, to wait for reinforcements, under General Buxhovoden; but, as the following particulars of this most extraordinary action was written by a French officer of rank at Vienna, who was with the army, they are entitled to a proportionate degree of credit.

"Buonaparté, 'he observes,' having made 60,000 prisoners, marched against Vienna; the detachment of Kienmayer fled to Hungary, where the Empress and her children took refuge; the Russians passed the Danube at Lintz and at Krems, and cut down the bridges; they took the road to Moravia. Francis II. was with them, as well as his brothers; they were witnesses of the devastations committed by their Allies, in a country which they were come to defend. Buonaparté sent three divisions to the left of the Danube, in boats, to pursue the Russians; who, knowing our inferiority, faced about against the division of Matier, only 5,000 strong, which had overtaken them at Stein. It was surrounded by 30 battalions; they must surrender at discretion to a ferocious enemy, or devote themselves to glory: they form into a close mass, and open themselves a passage, sword in hand, over the bodies of their enemies, who left 4,000 men on the field of battle, among whom was General Smedt. That day decided the question between the French and Russian infantry; for seven hours the artillery mowed down columns, and whole ranks fell under the bayonets of the combatants, who refused quarter on both sides: we had, towards noon, forced back a Russian battalion to the Danube; we pushed them so close, that the enemy threw themselves on

their knees, in the water, crying "*Prisoners!*" We left off killing—the Russians then resumed their arms, fell upon us with frightful cries of "*Houra! houra!*" (kill) and forced us at several points; they were massacred by a reserve, very dexterously left behind by the General.

"Towards night, for want of cartridges they fought with stones—in many places the battle became individual; some French soldiers, being closely pressed, threw themselves into the houses of a small village on the field of battle, and there intrenched themselves; the enemy set fire to the village, and many brave fellows perished in the flames. If our loss was only 2,000 men, we owe it to our superiority in the art of positions; and, particularly, the principle of sustaining the most rude shocks by corps of reserve, without which you can never make good retreats; and if you are victorious, you may lose all in a minute, because the shocks throw the conquerors, as well as the vanquished, into disorder, of which he who has a fresh corps profits."

After this the French army continued to advance so rapidly, that the Emperor of Austria, and his Court determined to remove from Brunn to Olmutz. But, previous to his departure on the 13th, he thought proper to try the effect of another Proclamation. In this he told his unhappy people, that the demands of the French Emperor being inadmissible, and having refused an armistice, nothing remained for him to do but to trust to resources, to be found in the fidelity and strength of his people, united to the *undiminished* forces of his high *allies*, the Emperor of Russia, and the *King of Prussia*; and to persist in his determination until the French Emperor should consent to conditions consistent with the honour and independence of a great state.

By the evening of the 14th so many Austrian corps had been routed, at different points, that it was observed, almost all the Austrian artillery was in the hands of the enemy. By this time, also, Marshal Bernadotte having

made a circuit to the right by Saltzburg, and the confines of Hungary, passed the Danube to join the main army.

On the 15th, Murat and Lannes, came up with the Russian army at Holbrunn. The French cavalry charged them, who abandoned their ground, leaving some of their baggage behind. The Russian general finding himself hard pressed, and desirous to gain a little time, had recourse to a device, in which he was authorised by the stratagem used by the French in passing the bridge at Vienna. A flag of truce presented himself at the French advanced posts, and the Baron Winzingerode, *aid-de-camp* to the Emperor of Russia, demanded leave for the Russian army to capitulate, and separate from the Austrians. This appeared too specious not to be listened to; and Murat, who was himself the author of the above-mentioned deception, communicated the information to Buonaparté. It soon became suspected, and Buonaparté refused to agree to the proposed terms, on the grounds that the Russian was not duly authorised to treat: but he declared that if the Emperor of Russia would ratify the Convention, he would likewise do it. Hereupon the French army advanced.

The Russians, during this parley, were making their preparations to retreat, and had made some progress in it, when they were attacked the next day near Guntersdorff. The loss on both sides was considerable, but the Russians left behind them 2,000 prisoners, and had nearly as many killed and wounded: they also left behind them 12 pieces of cannon, and as many baggage waggons. Among the wounded French officers were General Oudinot and his two *aid-de-camps*. On the 17th the French head-quarters were at Znaim, where they found the sick of the Russian army abandoned to their fate. On the 18th General Sebastiani succeeded in cutting off a part of the Russian rear-guard, and made nearly 2,000 prisoners; and, on the same day, Prince Murat entered

Brunn, a regular fortress, capable of sustaining a siege, well supplied with ammunition and provisions.

On the 20th Buonaparté removed to Brunn, and received a deputation from the states of Moravia, with the Bishop at their head. He caused the citadel to be taken possession of, in which were found 6,000 stand of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition.

The next advance of the French was from Brunn to Olmutz.—On the road, the Russians again attempted to stop them, having collected all their cavalry, to the number of 6,000. The French cavalry attacking them, though they maintained their ground the whole day, they gave way at night.

Brunn being put into a better state of defence, the French army did not move for some days: they then advanced and took a position near Wishau, in face of the Allied army, who were posted between that place and Olmutz, on the spot that gave birth to their ever memorable defeat in the battle of Austerlitz, to which we shall proceed in the next chapter.

THE END OF CHAP. XV

CHAPTER XVI.

Some Movements immediately preceding the Battle of Austerlitz...Striking Confirmation of the Veracity of the French Bulletins by General Lord Hutchinson....Account of the Affair of Austerlitz from the Moniteur...The Orders of the Day, Proclamations, &c. &c....The Consequences of this Victory, and Conjectures on the future Designs of the French Emperor.

MARSHAL Davoust, upon the capture of Vienna, had marched to Presburgh, and attempted a negotiation with the Archduke Palatine for the neutrality of Hungary, but it came to nothing; Davoust, therefore, proceeded to join the main army. The armies of France, and those of the Allies, are said to have been nearly in point of number; but the latter, it is owned, were flushed with victory, and out of all measure superior to their opponents in military skill, confidence, and discipline. "The French," say the Allies, had 105,000 men." These two armies being in presence, both were determined to make a stand; when, on the 29th of November, the Austrian Counts, Stadion and Giulay, were commissioned, on the part of the Emperor of Germany, to open a negotiation; and, at the same time, the Prussian minister, Count Haugwitz, came to offer his sovereign's mediation, who, it was supposed, was then strongly inclined to take a part in the war against France. Napoleon seemed to listen to the proposition; but the event seemed to indicate that it was only with the view of putting the Allies off their guard. On the evening of the 28th, it seems that some of the French advanced posts had been attacked by the Russians, near Wishau, and forced to fall back: however, Buonaparté hearing that the Emperor Alexander had advanced

to that place, followed by the main body of his army, dispatched General Savary, one of his *aids-de-camp*, avowedly to compliment that sovereign; but these particulars, as well as those of the ensuing battle, will be best learned from the French bulletins; authorities no English historian who aims at impartiality, need be ashamed of quoting; since the particulars of the loss of the Russians, in their last battle at Friedland, as stated in the French bulletins and newspapers, were confirmed, even to a unit, by General Lord Hutchinson, when he, recently, stated, in the House of Lords, that "the Russians were generally unsuccessful; that they never obtained a victory; that the victory of Eglau was no victory to them: that, in fact, the Russians were inferior to the French in every thing but courage; that there never was a general in the world equal to Buonaparté for military movements; and, that in the last battle of Friedland, and in the course of ten days before it, the Russians lost 40,000 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, 1,800 officers, and 27 generals! These, it is to be observed, were the exact numbers stated in the French bulletins; and as their authority has been thus acknowledged on a *latter* occasion, their credit cannot be more questionable on the *former*. Their account of the memorable battle of Austerlitz, and some important particulars, that preceded and followed that remarkable event, were thus stated:

THIRTIETH BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY

Austerlitz, December 3.

"On the 27th of November, the Emperor, upon receiving the communication of the full powers of M. M. Stadion, and De Guilay, offered, previously, an armistice, in order to spare the effusion of blood, if any real intention were entertained of coming to an arrangement and a definitive accommodation.—But it was easy for the Emperor to perceive that they had other projects; and as the hope of success could only be derived from the side

of the Russian army, he easily conjectured that the second and third armies were arrived, or were on the point of arriving, at Olmutz; and that the negotiations were only a *ruse-de-guerre*, to lull his vigilance to sleep. On the 28th, at nine in the morning, a cloud of Cossacs, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wishau, and took 50 of the sixth regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day, the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wishau, and the whole Russian army took up a position behind that city. The Emperor sent his *aid-de-camp*, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Russia, as soon as he knew of the arrival of that Prince in the army. General Savary returned at the moment the Emperor was reconnoitring the fires of the enemy's outposts at Wishau. He spoke in warm terms of commendation of the handsome reception, the favours, and the personal sentiments of the Emperor of Russia, and even of the Grand Duke Constantine, who shewed him every attention: but it was easy to understand, from the conversation he had, for three days, with some thirty coxcombs, who, under different titles, are about the Emperor of Russia, that presumption, inconsiderateness, and imprudence, reigned in the decisions of the military cabinets as much as they had reigned in these of the political cabinets. An army so conducted could not but commit faults—the Emperor's plan was, from that moment, to wait for them, and to watch the moment for profiting by them—He immediately ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had been defeated, took a good position, three leagues in the rear, and laboured, with much ostentation, in fortifying it and raising batteries.

"He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his *aid-de-camp*, Prince Dolgoruki; that officer might remark that every thing breathed reserve and fear in the appearance of the French army. The placing strong guards, the fortifications made with such

haste, every thing shewed to the Russian officer an army half beaten.—Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who never receives with so much circumspection the flags of truce at his head-quarters, he went himself to the advanced posts. The Russian discussed every thing with an impertinence difficult to be conceived; he was in the most perfect ignorance of the interests of Europe, and of the situation of the continent. In a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to the Emperor as he speaks to the Russian officers, whom he has long digusted by his haughtiness and improper conduct. The Emperor repressed his own indignation; and the young Man, who has a real influence over the Emperor Alexander, returned with a conviction that the French army was on the eve of ruin. One may be convinced, above all, of what the Emperor must have suffered, when it is known, that, towards the close of the conversation, he proposed to him to cede Belgium, and to place the Iron Crown upon the head of the most implacable enemies of France! All these different steps were attended with their due effect. The young heads, that direct the Russian affairs, gave themselves up without measure, to their natural presumption. It was no longer whether the French army should be beaten, but whether it should be turned and taken—it had only done so much through the cowardice of the Austrians. We are assured, that several old Austrian generals, who made campaigns against the Emperor, warned the Council, that is was not with that confidence that one ought to march against old soldiers and officers of the first merit. They said, they had seen the Emperor, reduced to a handful of men, repossess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy the most numerous armies: that here no advantage had been obtained; that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the rear-guard of the first Russian army had been in

favour of the French army: but that the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their Emperor, the picked corps of the Imperial Guard of Russia; and, what, probably, they dared not say, their talents, of which they were astonished the Austrians would not acknowledge the power.

"On the 1st December, the Emperor, from the heights, saw, with indescribable joy, the Russian army beginning, within twice the distance of cannon shot from his advanced posts, a flank movement, to turn his right. He perceived then to what a pitch presumption and ignorance of the art of war had misled the councils of that brave army. He said, several times, "Before to-morrow night that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was far different; they appeared before our posts within pistol shot; they defiled by a flank march upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed not to dare to quit its position, they had but one fear, that the French army should escape. Every thing was done to confirm the enemy in this idea. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but, all at once, it seemed astonished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste. Hence, every thing tended to confirm the Russian general in the miscalculated operation which he had determined upon. The Emperor put the annexed Proclamation in the order of the day. At night he wished to visit on foot, and, *incognito*, all the posts; but he had not gone many steps when he was recognised. It would be impossible to depict the enthusiasm of the soldiers upon seeing him. Lighted straw was placed, in an instant, upon the tops of thousands of poles, and 80,000 men appeared before the Emperor, saluting him with acclamations; some to celebrate the anniversary of his Coronation; others saying, that the army would, to-morrow, offer its *bouquet* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said,

'Sire! you need not expose yourself—I promise you, in the name of the Grenadiers of the army, that you shall only have to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you, to-morrow, the colours and artillery of the Russian army, to celebrate the Anniversary of your Coronation.' The Emperor said, upon his return to his guard-house, which consisted of a miserable straw cabin, without a roof, which the grenadiers had made for him, 'This is the finest evening of my life; but I regret to think that I shall lose a good number of these brave fellows.—I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are, indeed, my children; and I often reproach myself for this sentiment, for I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on war.' If the enemy had seen the sight, it would have terrified them—but the unthinking enemy continued their movements, and hastened, with quick steps, to their ruin.

"The Emperor made his dispositions for battle immediately. He sent off Marshal Davoust, in great haste, to the convent of Raygern. He was, with one of his divisions and a division of dragoons, to keep in check the enemy's left wing, in order that, upon a given signal, it might be quite surrounded. He gave to Marshal Lannes the command of the left wing; to Marshal Soult the command of the right; and to Marshal Bernadotte the command of the centre. Prince Murat received the command of the cavalry, with which he was posted on one point. The left of Marshal Lannes approached Santon, a superb position, which had been fortified and mounted with 18 pieces of cannon. From the preceding evening he had entrusted the keeping of the firm position to the 17th light infantry, and certainly it could not be guarded by better troops. General Suchet's division formed the left of Marshal Lannes; the division of General Caferelli formed his right, and was supported at the same time by Prince Murat's cavalry. The latter had before it the hussars and chasseurs, under General

Thellemont, and the dragoon divisions of Walther and Beaumont, and in reserve, the cuirassier divisions of Generals Nansouty and Hautpoult, with 24 pieces of light artillery. Marshal Bernadotte (that is to say, the centre) had on the left the division of General Rivaud, which also communicated with Prince Murat's right wing, and on the right the division of General Drouet. Marshal Soult, who commanded the right wing of the army, had on his left the division of General Vandamme, in his centre the division of General St. Hilaire, and on his right the division of General Legrand. Marshal Davoust was detached to the right of General Legrand, to observe the road between the lakes and the villages of Sokolnitz and Celnitz. He had with him General Friant's division and the dragoons of General Boucher's division. The division of General Gudin was directed to march, at day-break, from Nicolsburg, to stop the corps of the enemy, which might have outflanked the right wing.

"The Emperor, with his faithful companion in war, Marshal Berthier; his first *aid-de-camp*, Colonel Junot, and all his *etat-major*, was in reserve, with the ten battalions of his guard and the ten battalions of General Oudinot's grenadiers, part of whom were commanded by General Duroc. This reserve was ranged in two lines, in columns, battalions deployed at a distance, having in the intervals 40 pieces, served by the cannoneers of the guard. It was with this reserve that the Emperor intended to push forward wherever it would have been necessary: we may say this reserve was worth an army. At one in the morning the Emperor got on horse-back to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learnt of the movements of the Russians—He heard, that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it. Day dawned,

at length, on the 2nd—the sun rose bright; and the Anniversary of the Coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, was one of the finest days of autumn. The battle, which the soldiers persist in calling 'The Day of the Three Emperors;' which others call 'The Day of the Anniversary;' and which the Emperor named 'The Battle of Austerlitz,' will be ever memorable in the annals of the Great Nation. The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps full gallop. The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments, 'Soldiers! we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies;' and, instantly, hats were placed on the points of bayonets, and cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' were the signal for battle.—A moment afterwards the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked; but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust stopped the enemy short, and the battle began.—Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with General Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain: surprised by a flank march whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself as half defeated. Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry: the left wing, also, under the command of General Lasnes, marched forward also, *en eschelons*, by regiments, in the same manner as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line; 200 pieces of cannon, and near 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise; it was a real combat of giants! Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off! their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quar-

ters of the two Emperors; who marched, immediately, the Emperor of Russia's guard, to endeavour to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and routed: but the Emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bessieres to go to the succour of his right with the Invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged; success could not be doubtful; in a moment the Russian guard was routed; colonel, artillery, standards, every thing, was taken! the regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated! he owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse! From the heights of Austerlitz the Two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard! At the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry; the left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, made several; all the charges were victorious; General Caffarelli's division distinguished itself; the cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries: at one point the victory was decided—it had not been doubtful for a moment: not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted nowhere! a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The Emperor hastened thither with 20 pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position; and we saw the horrid spectacle (such as was seen at Aboukir) of 20,000 men throwing themselves into the water, and drowning themselves in the lake! Two columns of Russians (4,000 each) laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners: all the enemy's park of artillery is taken! The result of this day is 40 Russian standards, amongst which are the standards of the Imperial Guard; a considerable number of prisoners, the *Etat-major* does not yet know how many: we have, already, an account

of 20 or 30,000; 12 or 15 generals; at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle! Though we have not yet the report, we may, at the first *coup d'œil* estimate our loss at 800 killed and 1,500 or 1,600 wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a rout that men are lost, and no other corps but the battalion of the 4th was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are General St. Hilaire, who, though disabled in the beginning, remained the whole day on the field of battle! he covered himself with glory; Generals of divisions, Kellerman and Walter; Generals of brigade, Valhaber, Tiniebalt, Sebastiani, Compier, and Rapp, the Emperor's *aid-de-camp:* it was the latter, who, in charging at the head of the grenadiers of the guards, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the Imperial Guard of Russia. With respect to the men who distinguished themselves, it was the whole army that covered itself with glory; it constantly charged to the cry of *' Vive l'Emperour!'* and the idea of celebrating so gloriously the Anniversary of the Coronation animated the soldiers. The French army, though fine and numerous, was less numerous than the enemy's army, which was 105,000 strong, 80,000 Russians and 25,000 Austrians.—The half of this army is destroyed, the rest has been completely routed, and the greater part threw away their arms!

" This day will cost tears of blood at Petersburgh! may it cause the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! and may that young Prince, whom so many virtues called to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those thirty Coxcombs, whom England pays, and whose impertinence injures his intentions, makes him lose the love of his soldiers, and hurries him into the most ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with so many great qualities, had made him to be the consolation of Europe: perfidious counsels, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will place him, in history, in the rank of men, who, perpetuating the

war upon the Continent, will have consolidated the British tyranny upon the seas and produced the misery of our generation. If France cannot arrive at peace but on the conditions proposed by the *aid-de-camp*, Dolsucki, to the Emperor, and which M. Novozilzof was ordered to make; Russia should not obtain them were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmatre. In the detailed relation of this battle the *Etat-major* will make known what each corps, officer, and general have done to render the French illustrious, and to afford proof of their love for the Emperor.

"On the 3d, at day-break, Prince John of Lichstenstein, commanding the Austrian army, came to the Emperor's head quarters, in a barn; he had a long audience, yet we pursued our successes: the enemy have retired, by the road of Austerlitz, to Goddin; the French army is already in their rear, and follows them sword in hand. Never was there a more horrible field of battle; from the middle of the immense lakes we hear still the cries of thousands of men, who could not be assisted! three days must elapse, ere all the wounded enemy are carried to Brunn; the heart bleeds for so much bloodshed! May so many miseries fall, at length, upon the perfidious Islanders, who are the cause of it! may the cowardly oligarchs of London bear the burthen of so many evils!"

THIRTY-FIRST BULLETIN OF THE GRAND ARMY.

Paris, December 17.

"The cannon, that fired yesterday at one *P. M.*, announced great news. In the hope of hearing the 31st Bulletin read, we went to the theatre, and our hope was not disappointed. The representation of *Iphigenia in Aulis* had just begun, and the audience were applauding this allusion:

'Mais qui peut dans sa course arreter ce torrent,
Achille va combattre et triumphe en courant:'

when a civil officer appeared on the stage, and caused the actor, Lacave, to read the following:

"The day after the battle of Austerlitz, otherwise called 'The Three Emperors,' his Majesty went to his station at the advanced posts, and received there the Emperor of Austria's visit. The conference of the two Monarchs, was long and amicable. Francis II. looking at the wretched hut, in which Napoleon received him, could not avoid expressing some surprise. 'You see,' said our Emperor, laughing, 'these are the palaces in which you have made me lay for two months.' 'You employ your time too well in them,' replied the Austrian Monarch, 'to have cause to reproach me.' 'The conversation having turned upon England, Francis II. testified his deepest indignation against the infamous policy of that power.' 'They are vile Traders!' said he, several times, 'who would set fire to the continent for the sake of their trade; I renounce their alliance for ever!'

"That Prince, encouraged by the frank and open air of the French Monarch, having asked that the Emperor of Russia should be included in the armistice. 'I will state to you,' said Napoleon, 'that his army is entirely surrounded, that, to-morrow, perhaps, it will be in my power; and besides, nothing guarantees to me the pacific intentions of that Prince.' 'His intentions are in conformity with my own,' replied Francis II. 'he shares my hatred and contempt for the British Government—in short, he wishes to withdraw.'—'Well, since you are his guarantee, I desire nothing better than to be agreeable to the Emperor Alexander. I will open a retreat for his army—but I will have him retire immediately—let him evacuate all the Austrian possessions—not only in Germany but in Poland: let him march back, by fixed marches, of which I will give him the route—let no extraordinary levy be made in the state of that Prince, &c. &c.

"In consequence of his generous disposition, his Majesty sent his *aid-de-camp*, General Savary, to the head-quarters of the Russian army. Introduced to the Emperor Alexander, he was received with the highest consideration, the first words spoken to him by the Emperor Alexander were a tribute to the genius of Napoleon. 'Your Emperor has performed miracles—the day before yesterday covers him with immortal glory.' Then, enquiring the details of the manœuvres of the grand army, Alexander added; 'You were inferior in numbers, and every where your attacks were successful!' 'It was the fruit of experience,' replied the French General. 'His Majesty has already fought thirty battles like those of Austerlitz.' 'And I,' replied the Russian Monarch, 'this is the first in which I have been: I have never pretended to rival Buonaparté—he is a very great warrior, he is really predestinated by heaven.'

"When they came to the subject of the Message, Alexander asked, what the French Emperor required of him, and then, if his person was safe?—Yes, Sire,' replied General Savary, 'your person is safe; though, at the moment I am speaking, your army is already turned. If your Majesty explains yourself frankly, I guarantee your retreat.'

"All the conditions of which we have spoken above, appear to have been consented to by the Emperor of Russia: who, as well as the Emperor of Austria, expressed himself well satisfied with the French Monarch.'

"An armistice has thus been concluded between the three powers, and negotiations for peace will not be delayed. The French Emperor has delivered himself in a strong manner upon this latter point; and, in order not to be deceived, he keeps, *provisionally*, all he had taken, and is going to take; that is, almost all Upper and Lower Austria, a part of Bohemia, Carniola, the Tyrol, the states of Venice," &c. &c.

"Cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the warmest plaudit

burst from all parts of the theatre as soon as this admirable news was read, and there was not one of the audience who did not think himself transported to the age of enchantment;

Still, as the history of this affair of Austerlitz would be incomplete without the French Emperor's Order of the Day, before the battle, and the Two Proclamations, issued immediately after, they will here follow the Bulletins.

When these Proclamations reached this country, the threat, in the first, about "marching to Petersburgh," was particularly ridiculed by the venal and ignorant makers of newspapers: but in 1807, and after the loss of the battle of Friedland, upon the Russian frontier, it will, surely, be permitted us to doubt of the sagacity and the integrity of those guides.—Of course, the French orders of the day and proclamations deserve to be read, not only as descriptions of the *past*, but as striking pictures, only too fatal, in delineating the *future*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

On the Field, December 1.

"SOLDIERS!

"The Russian army is before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm; they are the same battalions you beat at Hollabrun, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable, and, whilst they march to turn my right, they shall present me the flank.

"Soldiers! I shall direct myself, all your battalions; I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but, if victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall see your Emperor expose himself to the first blow; for victory cannot hesitate on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry (which is of so much importance to the whole nation) is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretext of carrying off the wounded; and let each be well persuaded, that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred o your nation. This victory will finish

our campaign, and we shall resume our winter quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France: then the peace which I will make will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me.'

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

Head-quarters, Dec. 2, 10 o'clock at night.

"SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY!

"Even at this hour, before this great day shall pass away and be lost in the ocean of eternity, your Emperor must address you, and express how much he is satisfied with the conduct of all those who have had the good fortune to combat in this memorable battle. Soldiers! you are the first warriors in the world! The recollection of this day, and of your deed, will be eternal! thousands of ages hereafter, so long as the events of the universe continue to be related, will it be told, that a Russian army, of seventy-six thousand men, hired by the gold of England, was annihilated by you on the plains of Olmutz.—The miserable remains of that army, upon which the commercial spirit of a despicable nation had placed its last hope, are in flight, and hasten to make known to the savage inhabitants of the North what the French are capable of performing; they will, likewise, tell them, that after having destroyed the Austrian army at Ulm, you said to Vienna, 'That army is no more!' To Petersburgh you shall also say, 'The Emperor Alexander has no longer an army!'

"Soldiers of the Grand Army! four months have not elapsed since your Emperor spoke thus to you at Boulogne:

"We march to dissolve a Coalition formed by the gold and intrigues of England; and the result has been, the overthrow of three hundred thousand soldiers and of two great monarchies! Soldiers! you are worthy of immortality! What will your relatives, what will every Frenchman say? they can never cease to contemplate you with emotions of affection and admiration.—And, when your work is completed; when you returned to your own fire-sides, your families, all France, will exclaim, 'These are our Brethren, the Heroes of Olmutz! who, out of an army of seventy-six thousand men, made ten thousand prisoners, took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and left twenty-six thousand men dead on the field!"

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Not satisfied with this alone, the Emperor, the next day, issued the following

PROCLAMATION.

Head-quarters, Austerlitz, Dec 3.

SOLDIERS,

"I am satisfied with you! in the battle of Austerlitz; you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity! you have covered yourselves with eternal glory! An army of one hundred thousand men, which was commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut off or dispersed! what escaped your swords have thrown themselves into the lakes! Forty stand of colours, the standards of the Russian Imperial Guard, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above thirty thousand prisoners, are the fruits of this ever memorable battle! That infantry, so celebrated, and superior to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge; and, henceforth, you have no rivals to fear! Thus, in less than two months, the Third Coalition is conquered and dissolved!—Peace cannot be at a great distance: but, as I promised to my people, before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward of my Allies.

"Soldiers! when the French People placed the Imperial Crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendor of glory which alone could give it value in my estimation; but, at that moment, our enemies entertained the design to to tarnish and degrade it; and the Iron Crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe! an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to naught on the Anniversary of your Emperor's Coronation! You have taught them, that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten than to subdue us.

"Soldiers! when every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and prosperity of our country has been achieved, will I return you my thanks in France; then will you be the objects of my tenderest care.—My people will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me, 'I was in the battle of Austerlitz!' will be enough to authorise the reply, 'That is a brave man!' (Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The Battle of Austerlitz was so decisive in its effects, that nothing more, of importance, could possibly follow: however, reports, in London, upon very high authority, after an account of the same had been received, continued to amuse and cheer the public mind with another battle, on the succeeding day, in which the Russians, and their Emperor, performed prodigies of valour, recovering their cannon, and obtaining the most complete success: these, however, had but a transitory existence. Truth, which is the child of Time, came, at length, and would have put these impudent falsehoods to the blush, had the propagators of them been susceptible of honour or shame. —To the discerning few, nothing appeared, on the part of the Russians and Austrians, but prospects of defeat and disgrace. It is true, that a trifling affair took place on the 3d of December: Prince Bragration was attacked in the neighbourhood of Urschutz, from whence he retired, in the evening, towards Czeitsch.

On the 4th the Allied Army made a retrograde movement, crossing the river March to Hollitsch; but the Emperor of Germany remained at Czeitsch. Prince John of Lichtenstein had been sent, on the 2d, to the French Emperor, to propose, or, rather, to solicit, an armistice; and it was then agreed, that a suspension of hostilities should take place, and commence on the 4th instant at day-break. The Prince arrived at head-quarters the evening before, but it appears that the French army was not apprized of this transaction in sufficient time to prevent the hostile movements made on the 4th. In consequence of this agreement, an interview between the Emperors of Germany and France took place in the open air, at a small distance from the village of Nasedlowitz, near a mill, by the road-side. The conference lasted a considerable time, when the Emperor Francis returned to Czeitsch in the evening, and immediately dispatched an Austrian general to communicate the result of the conference to the Emperor Alexander: and General Savary was appointed by the Empe

ror Napoleon to attend the Austrian general to the Russian head-quarters. The Emperor of Russia is said to have received them with politeness; and, at the same time, though he did not formally concur in the armistice, he made no positive objection to it. The result of the engagements then entered into, authorised the French army to remain in possession of its conquests; viz.: part of Moravia and Hungary; all Upper and Lower Austria; the Tyrol; the States of Vienna; Carinthia; Styria, and Carniola; the country of Goritz and Istria. In Bohemia they were to retain the Circle of Montabar, with the whole space to the Eastward from Tabor to Lintz; and to hold this immense tract until the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations; in which case it was also stipulated, that hostilities should not re-commence within fourteen days, and then, that the cessation of the armistice should be announced to the plenipotentiaries at the head of their respective armies. It was also stipulated, that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states, Moravia, and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Gallicia within a month: the routes to be prescribed to the Russian army; that there should be no levy or insurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary raising of troops in Bohemia; nor that any foreign army should be permitted to enter the territory of the House of Austria; and, finally, it was conditioned, that negotiators from both powers should meet at Nicolsburg, to negotiate a treaty, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace between the Two Emperors. This agreement between the French and Austrians made it necessary for the Russian army to commence its retreat, under very distressing circumstances, on the 6th of December; at a time when the English Capital was made to resound with the praises of the Russian valour, and the not less heroic deeds of their magnanimous Emperor: while the French were represented as defeated, discouraged, and even in doubt of being able to return home to France!

But, though the Allies had suffered so signal a defeat on the 2nd of December, the corps of 20,000 men, under the Archduke Ferdinand, was still left entire in Bohemia; and, before intelligence could reach him of the conclusion of the armistice, he had attacked a corps of Bavarians, under General Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. Much about the same time the Archduke Charles made his appearance, from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with his army on the right bank of the Danube: this made it appear, for a short time, that, if the Emperor Francis had not been so precipitate in concluding a treaty with the French, the fortune of war might have taken a favourable turn: it was even said, that the Archduke Charles was mortified in the highest degree when he first heard of the treaty: but it was not taken into the account, that the Archduke himself, unable to make head against Massena in Italy, was then, in a measure, on his flight, with another victorious army almost at his heels!

Among the consequences of this extraordinary campaign, this one was generally acknowledged; viz. "that it had established the predominancy of France upon the Continent; and that the battle of Austerlitz; or, as it had been more familiarly denominated, 'The Battle of the Three Emperors,' had in its issue confounded all speculation." It was admitted a most alarming retrospect, to contemplate the aggrandizement of the French nation within a few short years; every period of its highest exultation, in former times, faded in the comparison! The dominion of Charlemagne carried within it the seeds of its own dissolution; and a superior character to Louis the Fourteenth set limits to the ambition and empire of the latter: but no talents, no power, no combination, in opposition to Buonaparté, it was observed, seemed calculated to check his progress, but, on the contrary, served, in their effect, to swell his career with fresh victories and add to his strength by increasing conquests:

he, who, by wisdom in council, greatness of enterprise, and promptness in action, put it almost out of the course of things that he should ever meet with a reverse of fortune!

But with respect to his future views, which, at the period we are describing, first transpired; it is highly worthy of observation, though conceived anterior to 1805, they are most likely to be realized, at least in a great measure, in 1808. A letter, at that time, written by a French Officer, who was at Vienna, after tracing some of the masterly movements of Buonaparté, and descanting upon the superiority of their effects beyond any tactics of former times, concluded his epistle in the form of a wish, and with that degree of freedom which could only be tolerated, under the French system, in those who were in the secret, or who had good authority for making such sentiments public:

"I wish" says this Officer, "to see Austria lose the Tyrol and Salzbourg in favour of Bavaria, which should be erected into a kingdom; the title of Emperor of Germany suppressed; Napoleon made Emperor of the West; a new kingdom formed of Turkey in Europe; and the French, Spaniards, Germans, Italians, and Greeks, united under one chief, to prevent the Scythians from ever passing the Dardanelles and traversing Poland: this Chief of the West shall be master of the commerce of the East, and shall, when he chooses, make a journey to the Ganges."

It may be only necessary to observe now, that the first of these wishes was very soon realized; that subsequent successes seem to have paved the way for the rest; and that, with respect to making a journey to the Ganges, and the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe, they are, at present, the avowed measures of the the French journals; in which, upon the subject of politics, it is not the printer or editor of the paper, but the Government, which always speaks.

CHAPTER XVII.

Italy evacuated by the Archduke Charles....The King of Prussia's Duplicity of Conduct towards the Allies.... The Emperor Alexander's Visit to Berlin....Expedition of the English and Swedes to recover Hanover....Fails, in Consequence of Delay....Return of the Troops....Sweden threatened by Prussia....English and Russians land in the Kingdom of Naples....The French Minister leaves that City....Death of Captain Wright in the Temple at Paris.... Naval Affairs....Nelson's Victory....The Wife of Jerome Buonaparté leaves England....Peace between Austria and France signed at Presburg....Occupation of Hanover by the Prussians, &c. &c.

AS it was the intention of the Archduke to make good his retreat to Germany; upon his arrival at Bassano he had the option, either of proceeding by way of Trent into the Tyrol, or by Treviso, through Carinthia or Carniola. The disposition of the French in Germany seems to have induced him to adopt the latter: in his progress towards Vienna by the former route he would have had to oppose the corps of General Marmont and Marshal Bernadotte; whilst Ney was in force, on the confines of the Tyrol, on one side, and Augereau on the other; and a superior force, under Massena, was close upon his rear. In this dilemma, he determined upon proceeding to Hungary, though continually galled by the enemy's light troops.

The French advanced guard arrived at the Brenta immediately after the Austrians had passed that river and were endeavouring to destroy the bridge: here a cannonade commenced, which prevented the French from crossing till the next morning; however, the opposition they met with all the way to Laybach and Carinthia was

too insignificant to notice: but the Tyrol being completely evacuated by the Archduke John, the corps under Marshal Ney and General Marmont had approached the Danube, to support the main body of the French army, when the successes of the Emperor Napoleon put a period to any further struggle. After Bavaria had joined the French interest it was not surprising to see the Elector of Wirtemberg follow the example; for this the proximity of his territory to that of France was a very cogent apology: from Prussia, however, something might have been hoped; and much, it is said, might have been attained in the common cause, had her policy in 1805 been otherwise than narrow, crooked, and even deceptive. From the time of her first separation from the Confederacy against Republican France, she had maintained a cautious, selfish, but strict neutrality: all through the ensuing wars she viewed the straits to which her rival, Austria, was reduced, with pleasure; for the promise which such an event as the lowering of that power held forth, and thereby affording Prussia a predominancy in the Germanic Body, was too great a temptation to suffer her to deviate from the line of conduct she had adopted: hence it was, that the united efforts of the ministers of Austria, Russia, and England, at the Court of Berlin, could, ultimately, effect no more upon that government, than to induce it to put their troops upon the war establishment, fill their magazines, and furnish the different corps with camp equipage; or, rather, to adopt a kind of armed neutrality. At length, the Emperor Alexander made an effort, in person, to prevail upon the King of Prussia to adopt a more generous and decisive part: he arrived at Berlin; but, though he was received there with every demonstration of personal esteem, and that splendor due to his exalted character, he was obliged to return, baffled and disappointed, to place himself at the head of his armies, then advancing in aid of Austria. But the conduct of Prussia was reprehensible in another respect; the

example he shewed to the Electors of Hesse and Saxony, the Duke of Brunswick, and other Princes in the North of Germany, was prejudicial in the extreme. Very different was that of Sweden: a considerable body of Swedes, from Pomerania, had absolutely marched to the banks of the Elbe, and continued several months occupying the Dutchy of Lunenburg, &c. waiting to be joined by a large body of English troops and the German Legion; with which it was intended to effect the liberation of the King of England's German dominions from the French yoke, which had so long and so severely pressed upon them: afterwards, they were to have acted as opportunity and occasion required. This operation, which was perfectly practicable, promised very fairly to be attended with the happiest consequences, had it not been protracted till the moment when it would have been entirely useless. Had the Confederates, to the amount of 60,000 men, commanded by the King of Sweden, been in Hanover at an early stage of the war, Bernadotte would have found ample employment for his troops in that quarter, instead of marching to the Danube, and very considerably contributing to the successes of the French over General Mack. But with respect to the North of Germany; notwithstanding the opening of the campaign, and its period, were entirely optional with the Allied Powers, it was not till near the middle of November, when Vienna was in the hands of the French, and the fate of the war decided in that quarter, that the troops destined to act in Hanover were assembled, and then scarcely in sufficient force to besiege Hameln, where Bernadotte had left a strong garrison. The victory of Austerlitz, at length, put an end to this state of irresolute warfare: the Swedes were marched back to Pomerania; and the English and the German troops that were with them hastily embarked upon the Elbe, to return to England, leaving Hanover, once more, in the hands of the enemy! But even the efforts of Sweden were crip-

pled by the authoritative influence of Prussia: the King had openly defied the power of Buonaparté, through his minister, at the Diet of Ratisbon: the better to second his efforts, during the year 1805, Great Britain had negotiated with him for a subsidy; according to which sixty thousand pounds were to be immediately advanced, upon condition that a *depôt* of Hanoverian troops should be formed in Swedish Pomerania; the defences of Stralsund improved; and, in case that hostilities should be formally commenced against France, the Swedish troops should be taken into the pay of Great Britain at a fixed rate.

The wakeful jealousy of Buonaparté, it was observed, soon saw through these measures; and he, consequently, applied to the Court of Berlin (which plumed itself on being thought to be the protector of the North of Germany) to prevent the occupation of Pomerania by the Hanoverians. This application produced a strong Note from Prussia to the King of Sweden, expressive of a determination not to suffer Swedish Pomerania to become either the scene of preparation or the actual theatre of war: and that, should the King of Sweden actually commence hostilities against France, the King of Prussia must be compelled, though reluctantly, "to take the most decisive measures with respect to that province, in order to guard against the disturbance of the system of ensuring the tranquillity of the North, which he had adopted and pursued for such a length of time." To this Remonstrance the King of Sweden gave an immediate reply, couched in terms of strong and deep indignation, and avowing his resolution to proceed in that conduct he had laid down for himself, without further reference to the will or dictation of any power whatever. About the same time of the year, however, another division of the British force, which had joined the Russians in the Mediterranean, landed in the kingdom of Naples; where there being no enemy to oppose them, they lay inactive

the remainder of the campaign, without being in the least degree serviceable to the common cause, and exposing the King of Naples, one of the oldest and most faithful Allies, to the subsequent loss of his continental dominions.

But, whenever any power has been guilty of perfidy and bad faith towards the French Government, instead of admitting it as a crime, we applaud it as a virtuous action: this was now the case with the King of Naples. It was only in the month of September that he had concluded a treaty of neutrality with the French Emperor, in consequence of which he actually withdrew the French troops stationed in that country, and made them join his armies in the North of Italy: this step the French Emperor never forgave. It is true, that, when the English and Russians first arrived upon the Neapolitan coasts the King of Naples published a long manifesto, insisting upon his fidelity to the principles of neutrality agreed upon between him and France, and his utter inability to resist the occupation of his country by the Allies; but the French minister at Naples did not give the slightest degree of credit to these assertions, as he quitted that city in the highest resentment at the conduct of the King, whom he justly charged with duplicity and treachery, and whom he also threatened with the whole weight of his Master's resentment: a menace, which, like others from that quarter, was but too fatally carried into execution; of which more will be found in its proper place.

Another circumstance, of no small notoriety transpired in the month of November. The French papers, of the 29th of October, stated, that Captain Wright, who had been made prisoner the year before, on the coast of Brittany, being confined in the Temple, had cut his throat, with a razor, on the 27th of that month, upon hearing of the surrender of the Austrians at Ulm. There was, afterwards, some doubt, both as to the day and the manner in which he died; it was stated, on this side of the water

that he had been several times put to the torture, and that Buonaparte had offered to make him an Admiral, if he would give up the names of the persons who sent him to the French coast. However, as it is certain, that the French Government could not look upon a man, who landed a gang of desperate assassins privately, in the night, as being taken in an open and honourable war, it cannot be supposed they would treat him like another prisoner; of course, their refusal to exchange him is not hard to account for.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining intelligence along an extent of coast like that of France, it, this year, appeared, that not only the frigates of the enemy, but even whole squadrons, one of which, from Rochfort, did much mischief in the West Indies, and escaped from ports supposed to be in a state of strict blockade.

This year the Cleopatra frigate, of 32 guns, after sustaining a long and unequal contest with the Ville de Milan, one of the enemy's largest frigates, was compelled to surrender; but not till Sir Robert Laurie, who commanded the Cleopatra, had so completely disabled his opponent as to render both vessels, afterwards retaken, an easy capture to the Leander of 50 guns. The alarm, about this time, respecting the Rochfort squadron in the West Indies, had scarcely subsided, when certain information was received, that Admiral Villeneuve had put to sea the second time. On the 30th of March, it seems, he sailed from Toulon to Carthagena, to be joined by the Spanish ships in that port: these not being ready, he proceeded, unmolested, to Cadiz, where, having been joined by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he directly proceeded to the West Indies, with eighteen sail of the line, and a number of smaller vessels. On Villeneuve's approach to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, who blockaded that port with five British sail of the line, thought prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining the English fleet off Brest, under Lord Gardner. The sailing of so consi-

derable an armament, being known to be destined for the West Indies, excited no small degree of consternation at home; this we learned for a certainty in the beginning of May, when no intelligence whatever of the movements of Lord Nelson, who had been up to Toulon and Sicily, had come to hand. But during this anxious period, that able Veteran, after having traversed the Mediterranean with his squadron of ten sail of the line, and visited Alexandria, in Egypt, together with Palermo on his return, again put to sea, and cruised in different latitudes, in eager expectation of the enemy, remained till the middle of April before he knew, for a certainty, that Villeneuve had quitted the Mediterranean. At length, having no longer any doubt of the real destination of the French, he took the heroic resolution of pursuing them to the West Indies, with a force of little more than one half of their strength! On proceeding to Lagos Bay, he was so fortunate as to find some storeships, belonging to Sir John Orde's squadron, from which he obtained supplies, and sailed, on the 11th of May, direct for his object.

The enemy's design being to divide and distract our attention; about the middle of May the French fleet put to sea from Brest, apparently with an intention of fighting Lord Gardner, who had but 17 sail of the line against 25; but, seeing the English, they thought proper to return into the harbour, and leave Lord Gardner to pursue his blockade without any serious interruption!

In the meanwhile, Lord Nelson had been so expeditious, that, on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the Eastward of Madeira. On the 4th of June he came to anchor in Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes; where he learned, that Villeneuve arrived at Martinique on the 14th of May, and had attacked, and carried, the Diamond Rock, a position supposed to be almost inaccessible. Lord Nelson being soon after joined by two sail of the line, under Admiral Cochrane, prepared to sail again in

quest of the enemy, and attack them wherever they might be found. He then steered for Trinidad, where he arrived on the 7th of June; but not finding the enemy, he steered for Grenada, where he had the mortification to learn, that the enemy's squadrons, again acting in conjunction, had, that very morning, sailed for Martinique. Thinking Antigua was their object, his Lordship immediately steered towards that Island: but here, again, disappointment awaited him; though he learned that the combined squadrons had determined upon, and were returning to Europe. Lord Nelson having disembarked the troops he had on board at Antigua, which caused two or three days delay, once more set sail for Europe; he also dispatched the Curieux sloop to England, and the Decade frigate to Lisbon, to spread the intelligence of the enemy's return in every direction. Still Lord Nelson reached the Straits on the 19th of July without having seen the enemy, after having, in seventy-eight days, from the time he quitted Tetuan Bay to his return to Gibraltar, twice traversed, with his whole fleet, the Atlantic Ocean, and visited Egypt and all the Leeward West India Islands. On the 22d of July his Lordship again entered Tetuan Bay; where, after procuring supplies, he made sail again, on the 26th, in hopes of encountering the fugitive fleet off Cape St. Vincent, or, by taking a Northward direction, fall in with them in a higher latitude.

It ought to have been mentioned before, that the first Rochfort squadron, that escaped from port in the month of March, succeeded in laying the Islands of Domingo and St. Kitt's under contribution, but not without some resistance in both places. The Island of Nevis was also laid under some contribution, which, on the arrival of Admiral Cochrane in those seas, put an end to this marauding expedition; and the enemy's squadron was then so fortunate as to arrive safely in France, and escape the different English fleets that were at sea!

It seemed, as it was soon after observed, as if fate had decreed that Nelson should have the immortal honour of saving his country, and, upon that occasion, merely by the terror of his name, and without his firing a gun; circumstances, which at the time, were, doubtless, of extreme mortification to this Great Man, but which, in point of fact, redound more to his fame, and place it higher than even his splendid victories. His Lordship approached Cadiz on the 27th of July, but finding the enemy had not entered that port, he sailed for Cape St. Vincent, and, afterwards, traversed the Bay of Biscay, without seeing or hearing any thing of them. He, afterwards, made the North-west coast of Ireland, and was equally disappointed. He then resolved to return to England; his last measure being, with his usual sagacity, that of detaching nine ships of the line to reinforce the Channel Fleet, under Lord Gardner. On the 18th of August Lord Nelson, in the Victory, arrived at Portsmouth, and on the 20th reached London, where his reception, among all ranks, was almost inconceivable. But, in the meanwhile, the French Admiral, Villeneuve, whose fleet had increased to twenty sail of the line, had the misfortune of falling in with Sir Robert Calder, near Cadiz, instead of the gallant Nelson. Sir Robert Calder's force consisted of fifteen sail of the line, and an action immediately commenced which was begun by the English Admiral with skill, intrepidity, and judgment, and lasted four hours, the enemy fighting the whole time with the most determined resolution. At the end of that period, two of the enemy's ships of the line, the Raphael of 84 guns, and El Firma of 74 had struck; when Sir Robert Calder deemed it necessary to bring the squadron to, to cover them; a measure rendered still more necessary by the state of the weather, which was so foggy as to prevent the English ships from seeing the vessels a-head or a-stern of them: of course, it was impossible to manœuvre with any effect, while the wind and the weather, during the whole day, were highly

favourable to the enemy. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and next morning the Combined Fleet seemed disposed to renew the action, but they never approached nearer the British line than four leagues.—At length, after several manœuvres, the enemy was seen bearing away at day-break on the 24th, and steering, under an easy sail, to the South-east. England, however, felt itself so much disappointed in Sir Robert Calder, and the public murmurs were so loud and frequent, that Sir Robert returned to England, for the purpose of demanding an investigation of his proceedings; but, though the Court acquitted him of any imputation of fear or cowardice, he was most severely reprimanded for an error in judgment; notwithstanding he had served his country most meritoriously upwards of forty years, and was captain to Earl St. Vincent on that triumphant day which gave his Lordship his title, and the Spaniards a most signal defeat.

However, to return to the Combined Fleets: it appeared that they had reached the port of Ferrol in safety, and had been seen at sea on the 13th of August, to the number of twenty-seven sail of the line, and eight vessels of a lower order: this event was followed up by news of its arriving at Cadiz on the 21st of August, the small force under Admiral Collingwood not offering it any opposition. These circumstances made it necessary for Lord Nelson to think of proceeding to sea again almost as soon as he had arrived in London: it is sufficient to state, that he arrived at Portsmouth on the 14th of September and put to sea on the following day; and that, upon arriving off Cadiz, he received the command of the fleet under Admiral Collingwood, the reinforcements of which had made it equal to the task of coping with the enemy, and of punishing his temerity, should he even venture out of port. In the meanwhile, it was well known that the Combined Squadrons were preparing to sail, and the Mediterranean was strongly surmised to have been

their object. Lord Nelson is also stated to have made use of a stratagem to bring them out.—Having, about the middle of October, received certain information, from England, that he would be joined by seven sail of the line, he made no hesitation in detaching Admiral Louis and six ships of the line (being a fourth of his force at that time) upon a particular service, and that in so open a manner and so undisguisedly, that it became immediately known to the enemy, and decided his conduct; as it induced Admiral Villeneuve, seeing the English fleet reduced to twenty-one sail of the line, to take advantage of his manifest superiority, and make one vast effort to break the spirit and humble the naval pride of Britain. But as the exploits of Monday the 21st of October, 1805, will be a day for ever memorable in the British annals, we think we cannot transmit the Account of the Transactions that immortalized it, in better language than that of the Official Dispatches, which follow, from "The London Gazette."

ACCOUNT

Of the Naval Victory, and Death, of LORD NELSON; *from the Dispatches of* VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD, *Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels off Cadiz.*

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar, Oct. 22.

"SIR,

"The ever to be lamented Death of Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the Enemy, fell, in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that, on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the Commander-in-Chief, from the ships watching the motions of the Enemy in Cadiz, that the Combined Fleet had put to sea: as they sailed with light winds Westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean and, immediately, made all sail for the Straits entrance, with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours; where his Lordship was informed, by Captain Blackwood, (whose vigilance in watching and

giving notice of the Enemy's movements has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the Straits.

"On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore East by South about seven leagues, the Enemy was discoverd, six or seven miles to the Eastward, the wind about West and very light. The Commander-in-Chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The Enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships, of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish, commanded-in-chief by Admiral Villeneuve: the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore with their heads to the Northward, and formed their line of battle with great coolness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of the second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure, in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag, in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

"As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary; and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down.

"The Commander-in-Chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.

"The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the Enemy's line; the Commander-in-Chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the Enemy unoccupied, the succeeding ships breaking through, in all parts, a-stern of their leaders, and engaging the Enemy at the muzzles of their

guns! The conflict was severe; the Enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of events to grant to his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three P. M. many of the Enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the Southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off: leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinadada and the Santa Anna) with three flag officers; viz. Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief; Don Ignatia Maria D'Aliva, vice-admiral: and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Ridalgo Cisneros.

"After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

"The Achille, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders.

"A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen, when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their Lordships.—The Temeraire was boarded, by accident or design, by a French ship on one side and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous; but, in the end, the Combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

"Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy, and the British nation, in the fall of the Commander-in-Chief, the loss of a Hero whose name will be immortal, and his me-

mory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a Friend, to whom, by many years intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief, to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring that consolation which, perhaps, it ought. His Lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me, immediately, with his last farewell; and soon after expired!

"I have, also, to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captains Duff of the Mars, and Cooke of the Bellerophon; I have yet heard of none others.

"I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great, when the returns come to me; but, it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships.

"The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued; which ship lying within hail, made my signals, a service Captain Blackwood performed with great attention.—After the action, I shifted my flag to her, that I might more easily communicate my orders to and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to leeward. The whole fleet were now in a perilous situation; many dismasted, all shattered, in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and, when I made signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence, which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar; and, I hope, will ride safe until those gales are over.

"Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their Lordships on a victory, which, I hope, will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.

I am, &c. "C. COLLINGWOOD."

"The order in which the ships of the British squadron attacked the combined fleets, on the 21st of October:

"VAN.—Victory, Temeraire, Neptune, Conqueror, Leviathan, Ajax, Orion, Agamemnon, Minotaur, Spartiate, Britannia, Africa, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, Naiad, Pickle schooner, Entreprenante cutter:

"REAR.—Royal Sovereign, Mars, Belliste, Tonnant, Bellerophon, Colossus, Achille, Polyphemus, Revenge, Swiftsure, Defence, Thunderer, Defiance, Prince, Dreadnought.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

GENERAL ORDER.

Euryalus, October 23.

"The ever to be lamented Death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronte, the Commander-in-Chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of victory, covered with glory; whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy, and the British nation; whose zeal for the honour of his King, and for the interests of his Country, will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman: leaves to me a duty to return my thanks to the Right Honourable Rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of royal marines, serving on board his Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day. But where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in the battle with the Enemy, where every individual appeared an hero, on whom the glory of the country depended; the attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to our naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do, when their King and their Country need their service.

"To the right honourable Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the royal marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks, for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather.

"And I desire, that the respective captains will be pleased to com-

municate to the officers, seamen, and royal marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

To the Right honourable EARL OF NORTHESK, *and the respective* CAPTAINS *and* COMMANDERS:

GENERAL ORDER.

"The Almighty, God, whose arm is strength! having, of his great mercy, been pleased to crown the exertion of his Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, on the 21st of this month; and, that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the Throne of Grace for the great benefits to our country, and to mankind:

"I have thought proper, that a day should be appointed, of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for this, his merciful goodness; imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us in the defence of our country's liberties and laws, without which the utmost efforts of man are nought; and direct, therefore, that.....,.....be appointed for this holy purpose.

Given on board the Euralyus, off Cape Trafalgar, October 22, 1805.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

To the respective Captains and Commanders.

"N. B. The fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day, as yet, has been able to be appointed for the above purpose."

Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct. 24.

"SIR,

"In my Letter, of the 22nd, I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of his Majesty's squadron on the day of the action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes; but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

"On the 22nd, in the morning, a strong Southerly wind blew, with squally weather; which, however, did not prevent the activity

of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable, from getting hold of many of the prizes (13 or 14) and towing them off to the Westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune: but, on the 23rd, the gale increased, and the sea ran so high, that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and, some of them taking advantage in the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have, perhaps, drifted upon the shore and sunk: on the afternoon of that day, the remnant of the Combined Fleet, ten sail of ships, who had not been much engaged, stood up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward, for their defence; all this retarded the progress of the hulks; and the bad weather continuing, determined me to destroy all the leeward-most that could be cleared of the men; considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy: but even this was an arduous task in the high sea, which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I entrusted it to skilful officers, who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinadada and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet, this moment, from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others.—The Rèdoubtable sunk astern of the Swiftsure while in tow. The Santa Anna, I have no doubt, is sunk, as her side was almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port! I hope their Lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

"I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship; Vice-admiral Don Aliva is dead. Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there were only four in the action with the fleet; Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naid; the Melpomene joined the 22nd, and the Eurydice, and Scout the 23d,) I shall collect

the other flag officers, and send them to England, with their flags (if they do not all go to the bottom,) to be laid at his Majesty's feet.

"There were four thousand troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken, with Admiral Villeneuve, in the Bucentaure.

(Signed) "C. COLLINGWOOD."

To complete the destruction of this great Armament, Sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, afterwards, fell in with four French ships of the line, that had escaped from Trafalgar, the whole of which he captured on the 4th of November. Admiral Collingwood sent the following Dispatch, with the particulars, as to the manner in which the whole of the Combined Fleets were disposed of.

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, November 4.

"SIR,

"On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time. The weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from South west, the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay. The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterwards brought out the Bahama. Indeed, nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in the service.—Captain Hope rigged, and succeeded in bringing out, the Ildefonso; all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, Sir, I inclose you a List of all the Enemy's fleet which were in the action, and how they are disposed of; which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

"I informed you, in my Letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the Enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks; when the Rayo was dismasted, and fell into our hands; she, afterwards, parted her cable, went ashore, and was wrecked: the Indomptable, one of the same squa-

dron, was also driven ashore, wrecked, and her crew perished! The Santa Anna and Algeziras, being driven near the shore of Cadiz, got such assistance as enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected, under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore: had the battle been in the ocean still fewer would have escaped. Twenty sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a repairable state for a length of time. Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached, with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c. of these ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th. In clearing the captured ships of prisoners, I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, Governor-general of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given; a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the Governor, but the whole country resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts, bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer of the Marquis de Solana, of the use of their hospitals for our wounded; pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended. I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition, that they do not serve in the war, by sea or land, until exchanged. By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war, a copy of which I enclose, together with a state of the flag officers of the Combined Fleet. I am, &c.

"C. Collingwood."

A LIST

Of the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, in the Action of October 21st, off Cape Trafalgar; shewing how they were disposed of.

1. *Spanish ship.*—San Ildefonso, 74 gun; Brigadier Don Joseph De Vargas. Sent to Gibraltar.

2. *Spanish.*—San Juan Nepomuceno, 74, guns; Brigadier Don Cosme Churruca. Sent to Gibraltar.

3. *Spanish.*—Bahama, 74 guns; Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano. Sent to Gibraltar.

4. *French.*—Swiftsure, 74 guns; M. Villemadrill. Sent to Gibraltar.

5. *Spanish.*—Monarca, 74 guns; Don Jeodoro Argumosa. Wrecked off San Lucar.

6. *French.*—Fougeux, 74 guns; Mons. Beaudouin. Wrecked off Trafalgar; all perished, and thirty of the Temeraire's men.

7. *French.*—Indomptable, 84 guns; Mons. Hubert. Wrecked off Rota; all perished.

8. *French.*—Bucentaure, 80 guns; Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-Chief; Captains Prigny and Majendie. Wrecked on the Porques; some of the crew saved.

9. *Spanish.*—San Francisco de Asis 74 guns; Don Louis De Flores. Wrecked near Rota.

10. *Spanish.*—El Rayo, 100 guns; Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel. Wrecked near San Lucar.

11. *Spanish.*—Neptuno, 84 guns; Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes. Wrecked between Rota and Catalina.

12. *French.*—Argonaute, 74 guns; M. Epron. On shore in the port of Cadiz.

13. *French.*—Berwic, 74 guns: M. Camas. Wrecked to the Northward of San Lucar.

14. *French.*—L'Aigle, 74 guns; Mons. Courrege. Wrecked near Rota.

15. *French.*—Achille, 74 guns; Mons. D'Nieuport. Burnt during the action.

16. *French.*—Intrepide, 74 guns; M. Infornet. Burnt by the Britannia.

17. *Spanish.*—San Augustin, 74 guns; Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal. Burnt by the Leviathan.

18. *Spanish.*—Santissima Trinadada, 140 guns; Rear-admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros; Brigadier Don F. Uriarte. Sunk by the Prince, Neptune, &c.

19. *French.*—Redoubtable, 74 guns; M. Lucas. Sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Temeraire lost thirteen, and Swiftsure five men.

20. *Spanish.*—Argonauta, 80 guns; Don Ant. Patejo. Sunk by the Ajax.

21. *Spanish.*—Santa Anna, 112 guns; Vice-admiral Don Ignacio D'Alava; Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui. Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

22. *French.*—Algeziras, 74 guns; Rear-admiral Magon; (killed) Captain M. Bruaro. Taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.

23. *French.*—Pluton, 74 guns; Mons. Cosmao. Returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.

24. *Spanish.*—San Juste, 74 guns; Don Miguel Gaston. Returned to Cadiz; has a foremast only.

25. *Spanish.*—San Leandro, 64 guns; Don Joseph de Quevedo. Returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

26. *French.*—Neptune, 84 guns; M. Maistral. Returned to Cadiz, and perfect.

27. *French.*—Heros, 74 guns; M. Poulain. Returned to Cadiz; lower masts in, and Admiral Rossillie's flag on board.

28. *Spanish.*—Principe de Austurias, 112 guns: Admiral Don F. Gravina; Don Ant. Escano, &c. Returned to Cadiz, dismasted.

29. *Spanish.*—Montanez, 74 guns; Don Fran. Alcedo. Returned to Cadiz.

30. *French.*—Formidable, 80 guns; Rear-admiral Dumanier. Hauled to the Southward and escaped.

31. *French*.*—Mont Blanc, 74 guns; M. Le Villegues. Hauled to the Southward and escaped.

32. *French.*—Scapion, 74 guns; M. Bereager. Hauled to the Southward and escaped.

33. *French.*—Duguay Trouin, 74 guns; M. Toffet. Hauled to the Southward and escaped.

* These four ships were captured by Sir Richard Strachan on the 4th of November.

ABSTRACT.—At Gibraltar	4
Destroyed	16
In Cadiz (wrecks) . . 6 Ditto (serviceable) . . 3	9
Escaped to the Southward	4
Total	33

Names and Rank of the Flag Officers on board the Combined Fleet.

Admiral Villeneuve, Commander-in-Chief, Bucentaure; taken.—Admiral Don Fred. Gravina, Principe de Asturias, escaped into Cadiz, wounded in the arm.—Vice-admiral Don Ignacio Maria D'Alava, Santa Anna; wounded severely in the head; taken, but was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna.—Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, Santissima Trinadada; taken.—Rear-admiral Magon, Algeziras, killed.—Rear-admiral Dumanoir, Formidable; escaped."

PRIVATE LETTER.

From an Officer of the Euryalus; dated October 26.

"SIR,

"I scarcely know whether, after so great a loss as the nation has sustained in Lord Nelson, and every one of us a friend, added to the inevitable destruction of nineteen fine prizes, I ought to congratulate you; but, since the Enemy *minus* so many ships, and we, I trust, not one! even in that there is matter to rejoice. Such a victory, and under circumstanes so disadvantageous to the attack, never was atchieved: Admiral Villeneuve, who is now at my elbow, can scarcely yet credit it; and his despair and grief exceeds any thing I ever saw. To resist such an attack, and seconded as Lord Nelson was, was vain. I did not leave the Victory till the shot was flying thick over her; and the last signal Lord Nelson made was such, as cannot, and never will be forgot; (it was by telegraph) 'That England expected every man would do his duty!' I have time for no more: the vessel is going; but I shall soon see you, as I am to carry home the captured Admirals."

The mortification that this defeat must have caused to the French Emperor just after he had declared, that he wanted nothing, but *ships, colonies, and commerce*, may be easier conceived than expressed. Still, though the consequence of England was raised most considerably in the estimation of the Allies, the victories of Napoleon, by land, did not suffer them to avail themselves of it in the manner it might have done, had their advantages by land been more upon a par with ours by sea. However the circumstance served the ministers; and their characters, for the time, were elevated, in some measure, in proportion with that of the Hero whom they had been so fortunate to employ.

The year 1805 was remarkable for nothing more prominent, than the arrival of the wife of Jerome Buonaparté in England.—This was a Miss Paterson, whom he married while he was in America, after the seventy-four gun ship, which he commanded, having eluded the vigilance of the British squadrons in the West Indies, took refuge in an American port. Jerome Buonaparté, it appeared, sailed in the Erin, a neutral vessel, from Baltimore, and landed at Lisbon, from whence he set off, by land, to Paris; ordering the vessel to proceed to Amsterdam, from which city he intended his wife should follow him to the French Capital, as soon as he should obtain the requisite leave from his brother: but, on the ship's arrival in the Texel, Madame Buonaparté not being permitted to go on shore, she thought proper, being pregnant, to trust herself among the English. She was accompanied by a Mrs. Anderson, her countrywoman; her brother, Mr. William Paterson, and Dr. Garnier, a French physician, landed at Dover on the 15th of June. She, afterwards, took up her residence near Camberwell, where she remained during the summer, till she embarked for her own country, in the brig Mary, and arrived at Baltimore on the 9th of November following.

The public events of the year 1805 were, upon the whole, very favourable to the French. The Archduke Charles had an interview, on the 27th of December, with the French Emperor, at Staniersdorf, near Vienna, when the terms of peace between France and Austria were finally adjusted: a few days after the peace was actually signed, at Presburg in Hungary, between France and Austria, by M. Talleyrand, on the part of France, and Prince John of Lichtenstein, on the part of Austria: by which Austria lost the city and territory of Venice, and a considerable part of her German possessions. The French Emperor arrived, soon after, at Munich, on his return to Paris: the result of this visit was, that the Elector of Bavaria assumed the title of King; a similar title being also granted to the Duke of Wirtemberg, for his strict adherence to the cause of France; and even this, and other measures still more derogatory to the ancient dignity of the Germanic Empire, was stipulated for in the Treaty of Presburg! By land, the efforts of England terminated in a diplomatic mission of Lord Harrowby to to the Court of Berlin; and, on the part of Russia, by the arrival of the Grand Duke Constantine at the Prussian Capital. But an expedition to the North of Germany was planned by the British Cabinet, of the execution of which it will be our province to treat, hereafter, more at large.—To these movements, it seemed, the occupation of Hanover by the Prussians, and the Prussian Declaration, gave birth: thus, at the time when the Prussians were expected to act against the French in the *South* of Germany, they suddenly appeared in the *North!* They entered Hanover, and re-established the Electoral Government: at the same time, the troops of the Electorates of Saxony and Hesse Cassel were both put upon the war establishment: the latter then thought proper to declare, that the object of his military movements was only to preserve his neutrality! but the result will shew

that these Electors acted under the influence of Prussia, whose crooked policy, both towards the English and the French, brought itself and the Elector of Hesse to their ruin; while Saxony owed its preservation more to the clemency of the Conqueror than to the prowess or probity of the Prussian Monarch; who in this, as well as other respects, had long been striving to act the Emperor in the North of Germany.

THE END OF CHAP. XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Creation and Marriage of new Kings....Public Funeral of Lord Nelson....Great Storm....Death of Mr. Pitt....His Character, by Mr. Roscoe....Change of the Ministry.

THE first day of the new year, 1806, was distinguished, in Germany, by an event not a little singular; viz. the coronation of the Electors of Wirtemberg and Bavaria as Kings; which dignity was further amplified by a considerable increase of territory, at the expense of the unfortunate House of Austria!—But this was not all: Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of the French Empress by her first husband, guillotined under Robespierre, (then the adopted son of the French Emperor, and Viceroy of Italy) was married to the Princess Augustus Amelia, of Bavaria, daughter of the new king: a daughter of the King of England was also raised to the dignity of a queen; viz. Queen of Wirtemberg.

In the meanwhile, the transcendent services of Lord Nelson having procured a Vote of Parliament for bestowing public funeral honours on his remains, the procession for this purpose took place on the 9th of January, after the body had lain in state in the Painted Hall at Greenwhich; from whence it was removed, by water, on the preceding day, to the Admiralty. The Car, constructed for the purpose of conveying the body, and the spectacle in general, was calculated alone to gratify the eye and impress the heart. The Hero was attended by heroes to his grave! accompanied by the Seven Sons of his Sovereign; the chief nobility and gentry in the kingdom; detachments of various regiments and corps of volunteers; a small body of seamen; and immense multitudes of all classes of the community. One circum-

stance, however, tended to throw a little shade over the lustre of the day: some persons entrusted with the management of the procession, it is supposed, were so much engaged with the thoughts of the *dead* Hero as to forget the *living:* for the sailors, that attended with the body from Greenwich, no provision was made, not even a dinner! and, being without the means, they were obliged to apply for relief to the City Magistrate, to prevent their begging their way back to their ships! But the exit of Nelson, like that of another great man; (viz. Cromwell) whose *Navigation Act* laid the foundation of all our envied greatness at sea, was marked with a perturbation of the elements, thus noticed in some of the public journals of Saturday, January 11th:

"Between four and five o'clock, the inhabitants of London, and its vicinity, were aroused from their peaceful slumbers, by one of the most dreadful tornados felt for many years. It is a wonderful coincidence, that scarcely had the body of Lord Nelson reached the Admiralty, than a hurricane burst forth, only inferior to the one we are describing; and scarcely were his mortal remains deposited in the sacred tomb, and the ceremony of his inhumation finally closed, when the elements were, a second time, convulsed, and it seemed that the passage of the Hero, to immortality, was to be as much distinguished by storms as the life, by which he had merited the palm of glory, had been by daring enterprises. The rushing of the wind was dreadful, and threatened general destruction! thousands arose from their beds, alarmed at so unusual a visitation; the thunder growled, and repeated flashes of lightning added to the awfulness of the scene! the rain, or, rather, hail, fell in torrents! The mail and stage-coaches, travelling the roads, were stationary; for the affrighted horses were unable to move, and the drivers, equally alarmed, were obliged to alight! Numerous stacks of chimnies and dilapidated houses were blown down; some of the vessels in the river were driven from

their moorings and materially damaged: the ships in the West India Docks, sheltered as they are, were much strained by the violence of the wind! The lead and copper coverings to the roofs of a number of warehouses were wrenched off, rolled round, and carried to considerable distances! In St James's Park two trees were broken asunder; the one, of ancient growth, at the bottom of the trunk; and the other, a young tree, and protected by a fence, right in the middle: a third, too vigorous to bend to the blast, was torn up by the roots, and the earth scattered around it! Some trees were also blown down in Hyde Park. The neighbourhood of Finsbury Square was, for a few seconds, illuminated with a fiery meteor, which made an awful appearance, and very seriously alarmed many of the inhabitants!"

This Funeral was soon followed by a striking monition, in consequence of the fall of another great Pillar of the system; that is to say, the death of Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. in the forty-seventh year of his age.

It was justly observed of him, that "He was a man of firm purpose, upright principle, and honourable pride: but his firmness led him, imperceptibly, into obstinacy, and it was this part of his character that gave his adversaries such advantage over him. His grand characteristic foible was a jealousy of place and honour, which defeated the success of his best concerted projects: he preferred instruments to associates or assistants in office, thereby committing the execution of his plans to men wholly unequal to the task of executing them: hence the failure of his most mature schemes; hence the loss to the nation of his grandest conceptions: and hence the gigantic growth and prodigious agrandizement of France.—But, notwithstanding his errors or his failures, he was a truly great man. He died, however, on a pillow of thorns, in a moment of humiliation and misfortune. He was no sooner gone, than the remaining part of the administra-

tion fell, like a ruined fabric, dependant on a single prop!"

The character of this great Minister appears to have been drawn with such impartiality by W. Roscoe, Esquire, in his *Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences, of the present War*, that we have borrowed the following Character from that excellent Production:

"With the battle of Austerlitz the Confederation against France terminated, and with that terminated also the political career and the life of Mr. Pitt.—A statesman to whom it would be unjust to deny the endowments of extraordinary talents, and the praise of having improved those talents, in some departments, to a most uncommon degree. But these accomplishments, which ought to have rendered him a benefactor to his country, were, unfortunately, subservient to one predominating passion, which not only counteracted their good effects, but converted them into implements of danger and destruction. This passion he inherited from his father, who cherished it in the early years of his son, and directed his infant gaze towards that eminent station which he had himself once occupied. In his education nothing was left undone that could qualify him to attain this object; and no one, certainly, ever entered into public life with equal advantages. There is, however, an essential difference between those qualities which are calculated to obtain power, and those which enable us to make a proper use of it. Unfortunately, the system of education of Mr. Pitt was, in politics, that which Lord Chesterfield's was in private life: it was founded on too narrow a basis, and aimed too directly at its object. A cultivated mind and a humane disposition will render their possessor truly polite, sound principles and a real love of mankind truly patriotic; but, without these, neither the politeness nor the patriotism are any thing more than 'a whited sepulchre.' The system was, however, successful; the young Orator began his career in a manner the best calculated to

display his powers. As he spoke the hopes of freedom revived; corruption shrunk before his glance, and the nation hailed him as her deliverer; but, no sooner was the prize within his grasp, than he seized it with an eagerness, and retained it with a tenacity, which all the efforts of his opponents could neither impede nor relax. Having thus obtained the supreme power, the talents which had acquired it were employed, with equal success, to preserve it. The correction of abuses; the removal of peculation and corruption; the reform of the representation; the extension of religious and civil liberty, were now no longer the objects in view, or were only recalled at stated periods, to shew with what dexterity the Minister could blast his promise without breaking his faith! Well schooled in all the routine and arcana of office, an adept in the science of finance and taxation, Mr. Pitt's great accomplishment was, a thorough knowledge of the artificial and complex machine of government, and his great defect, a total insensibility to the feelings of mankind, and a thorough ignorance of the leading principles of human nature! Unfortunately for his fame and for his country, new situations arose, to which the hackneyed rules of a narrow policy were totally inapplicable. A powerful Nation, whose slavery had, for ages, been its reproach, threw off its shackles, and attempted to form for itself a limited monarchy. It was Mr. Pitt's first misfortune, to be insensible to the grandeur of so glorious a struggle: his second, to miscalculate its consequences. The first act of France was, to hold out her emancipated hands to the free states of England and of America; but the coldness of the Minister soon convinced her, that in this government she was not to expect a friend.—That coldness soon degenerated into enmity and abhorrence; and, through every change of circumstance and situation, through all the evolutions and forms of her government, whether monarchical, republican, aristocra-

tical, or despotic, she found in him a decided and an inflexible enemy.

With what success his hostility has been attended impartial history will shew. Whether the attempt was, to march to Paris; to restore the family of Bourbon; to restrain the French within the limits of their own dominion, or to starve them into subjection; in whatever way our enmity has been demonstrated, it has failed of its effect. To assert, however, that these efforts have failed, is wholly inadequate to the proper statement of the fact: they have not only failed of their object, but have been the positive and active cause of the continued union, and consequent triumph of the French nation! To what circumstance is it to be attributed, that a people, so restless in their disposition, so changeful in their views, should have been united together through all the variations of their government, and have acted, in all their external relations, with one heart, and as one man? so what, but the continued pressure of exterior force; to the successive combinations, formed under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, to compel them to submission? That France has suffered in the contest; that her best blood has flowed upon the scaffold; that the luminaries of science have been extinguished, and the brightest gems of the human intellect trampled under foot; that jealousy, ambition, cruelty, and revenge, have acted their dreadful parts, in awful succession, and have produced a scene of calamity unexampled in history, is but too true: but such was the price that France was compelled, by Europe, to pay for her independence on foreign powers; and, in this view, the purchase was, after all, cheaply made. The principle which carried that nation through all her difficulties was, the determination of the people to rally round the existing government, whatever that government might be, and to join in repelling, with one hand and one voice, the common enemy. To this they have sacrificed their ease, their property, their

friends, their families, their lives, with a prodigality, which excites, at the same instant, admiration and horror. But in this they have, as a nation, found their safety: by this they have prevented the still more dreadful consequences that must have resulted from a civil war; in which one half of the nation might have been arrayed in arms against the other, and the contending parties might have exposed a depopulated and bleeding country to be the prey of the first invader.—By this they have disappointed the hopes of those who presumptuously partitioned out the provinces of France, like the kingdom of Poland; and who foresaw no obstacles but in the difficulties which might occur in dividing the spoil."

It was further observed, that, although several of Mr. Pitt's associates in office were men of talents and business, they felt his death as the signal of the termination of their political power, and the way was now open for Mr. Fox's return to office. His union with the Grenville party, which had existed almost ever since their retirement from office, appeared intimate and cordial; and, though it had obliged him to lower the tone of his parliamentary hostility a little, in favour of his new associates, it was to him an acquisition of strength and talents. Lord Grenville was commissioned by the King, to make the necessary arrangements for a new administration, an appointment which gave general satisfaction. The completion of the new arrangement was a work of difficulty. However, at length, the names of the new Ministers appeared in the Gazette, as follows:

Treasury.—Lord GRENVILLE, First Lord.—Lord HENRY PETTY; Lord ALTHORPE; Mr. WICKHAM; and Mr. COURTENAY.—Secretaries, Mr. VANSITTART, and Mr. KING.

Earl FITZWILLIAM, President of the Council.

Viscount SIDMOUTH, Lord Privy Seal.

Foreign Department.—The Right Honourable CHARLES

JAMES FOX, Principal Secretary of State.—Under Secretaries, Sir T. VINCENT, and General WALPOLE.

Home Department.—Earl SPENCER, Principal Secretary.—Under Secretaries, Mr. W. WYNNE, and ———.

Colonies.—Right Honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM Principal Secretary.

Lord ERSKINE, Lord Chancellor.

Lord HENRY PETTY, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Admiralty.—Right Honourable CHARLES GREY, First Lord; Sir PHILIP STEPHENS; Admiral MARKHAM; Sir CHARLES POLE; Sir H. B. NEALE; Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL; and Lord KENSINGTON.

Earl MOIRA, Master-general of the Ordnance.

General FITZPATRICK, Secretary at War.

R. B. SHERIDAN, Esquire, Treasurer of the Navy.

Ireland.—Duke of BEDFORD, Lord Lieutenant.—Secretary, Mr. ELLIOT

Board of Controul.—Lord MINTO, President; Earl SPENCER; Mr. WINDHAM; Mr. FOX; Lord GRENVILLE; Lord HENRY PETTY; Lord MORPETH; Mr. HELY ADDINGTON; and Mr. SULLIVAN.

Earl of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE and Earl of CARYSFORT, Joint Postmasters

Lord AUCKLAND and Earl TEMPLE, President and Vice-president of the Board of Trade.

Earl TEMPLE and Lord JOHN TOWNSEND, Joint Paymasters of the Forces.

Earl of CAERNARVON, Master of the Horse.

Lord G. SPENCER, Master of the Mint.

Earl of ALBERMARLE, Master of the Stag-hounds.

Lord OSSULTON, Treasurer of the Household.

Earl of DERBY, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster.

Lord St. JOHN, Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

Lord R. SPENCER, Surveyor of Crown Lands.

Mr. BOND, Judge-advocate.

Mr. PIGOT, Attorney-general.

Mr. ROMILLY, Solicitor-general.

Mr. ADAM, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Cornwall.

Mr. GARROW, Attorney-general to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH (Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench) appointed to a Seat in the Cabinet.

To confer some mark of public distinction upon the deceased Minister, was one of the first motives that operated upon his friends after his decease; notwithstanding, after much debate in the Court of the Common Council of the City of London, in which it was proposed to erect a Monument to the Right Honourable William Pitt, the vote in the affirmative was carried by six voices only: and, while the body of the late Minister was preparing to lay in state in the Painted Chamber of the House of Lords, the Right Honourable Charles James Fox was re-elected for Westminster without opposition.

On the 22nd of February the Funeral of Mr. Pitt took place. The order of the procession to the Abbey was grand, and most respectfully attended; but the event had followed the interment of Nelson too quick to excite the general attention, which, otherwise, might have been paid to it. The anthems, and the burial service were the same as at the Funeral of Lord Nelson.

Soon after a Common Council was held in Guildhall, in which the citizens passed two resolutions, expressing their satisfaction at the appointment of the new ministry, and confidence in their future measures for the benefit of the nation. A third resolution returned thanks to Mr. Alderman Combe, for his general parliamentary conduct; and, particularly, for his *opposition* to the motion for the erection of a Monument to the late *unfortunate* Minister, Mr. Pitt. To this, we add, *Sic transit gloria mundi!* —"Thus fleeting is the glory of the world!" The next public measure was, the Proclamation of a General Fast; in which, it is probable, the new ministers expected as much praise and patriotism from the pulpits, as had been enjoyed by their predecessors in office.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Actual Hostilities between France and Naples, Bulletin and Proclamation....Return of Alexander to St. Petersburgh....Meetings of eminent Statesmen respecting Peace.... Mr. Windham's mercantile Ideas.... Extraordinary Circular from the French Government....Outline of several Treaties ....Presburgh, &c....The Prussian Proclamation, on seizing Hanover, &c....The Declaration of His Majesty the King of Great Britain.

THE vengeance that was threatened against Naples, by Napoleon, was not long deferred. A French official Bulletin, that reached us in the middle of January, declared, that "the Queen of Naples had ceased to reign," she having gone out of the city to meet the English troops, and received their generals with the utmost cordiality; so, that, as it was then observed, "by the folly of Mr. Pitt and his Allies, another Sovereign was to be hurled with disgrace from the throne: another illustrious daughter of Maria Theresa made to drink deep of the cup of affliction, and another kingdom added to the colossal dominions of France!" The same Bulletin stated, that "General St. Cyr is advancing by forced marches towards Naples, to punish the treason of the Queen, and to precipitate from the throne this culpable Woman, who has violated, in so shameless a manner, all that is held sacred among men!" It was endeavoured to intercede for her with the Emperor; he replied, "Were hostilities to recommence, and the nation to support a thirty years war, so atrocious an act of perfidy cannot be pardoned. The Queen of Naples has ceased to reign! the last crime has completed her destiny. Let her go to London, to encrease the number of intriguers, and form a *sympathetic*

Ink Committee, with Drake, Spencer, Smith, Taylor, and Wickham; she may also invite, if she pleases, Baron D'Armfeldt, M. Fersen, D'Antraigues, and the Monk Morus."

The Army of Italy were further encouraged by the following Effusion, probably dictated by Napoleon himself:

PROCLAMATION.

From my Imperial Camp at Schoenbrun, Dec 27.

"SOLDIERS!

"For ten years I have done all I could to save the King of Naples; he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself. After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition; I placed confidence in the word of this Prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him. When the Second Coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his Allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time. A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended, and to avenge the insults which I had received: still I was generous: I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples; I ordered you to evacuate that kingdom; and, for the third time, the House of Naples was confirmed and saved. Shall we grant a pardon for a fourth time? shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a Court without truth, honour, or common sense? No! no! The Neapolitan dynasty has ceased to reign! its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our Crown. Soldiers! march, drive into the sea, if they will wait your attack, those feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea. Shew to the world the manner in which we punish the perjured. Lose no time in informing me, that the whole of Italy is

subject to my laws, or those of my Allies; that the finest country of the world is emancipated from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that the sacredness of treaties is avenged; and that the *manes* of my brave soldiers, massacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped from the dangers of the sea, the desarts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeased. Soldiers! my Brother will lead you on: he is acquainted with my plans; he is the depositary of my authority; he is in full possession of my confidence; let him have yours.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

In the meanwhile, the Russian Emperor being in some measure compelled to say something, by way of apology for retreating, thought proper to publish the following

STATE PAPER.

Holitsch, December 5.

"The exhausted powers of the Court of Vienna, the misfortunes it has sustained, together with a want of provisions, have compelled the Roman Emperor, notwithstanding the strong and vigorous support he has experienced from the Russian troops, to conclude a Convention with France, to which, also, a peace must soon succeed. His Imperial Majesty, having come to his assistance as an Ally, had no other object in view than his defence, and the averting of those dangers which threatened his Empire; and since his Majesty the Emperor, under the present circumstances, has deemed the presence of the Russian troops no longer necessary in Austria, his Majesty has been pleased to order them to leave Austria, and to return to Russia.—The relation of the hostile operations, to the period of their cessation, will be published in a short time. The Emperor Alexander took leave of his Imperial Majesty of Austria at ten in the morning of the 6th, and immediately proceeded on his return to St. Petersburgh."

As we shall have, hereafter, to speak of the celebrated negotiations of the present year, it will be proper, before we proceed, to mention one of the leading circumstances which gave birth to them. The loss of the Battle of Austerlitz; the fall of Pitt and Nelson; and the doubtful conduct of Russia, gave occasion for serious reflections among several great characters in this kingdom, as to the practicability of carrying on the war; more than one meeting was held, and the following were the decisions of the last, which was of the greatest importance:

"Mr. Fox gave it as his opinion, "That, in the present solitary state of this country, severed by the late events from her actual Allies, and by the same events rendered desperate in her hopes of supplying their place by others, with Russia retreating in a manner, that a whole year would be lost before she could again come into the field, and with Austria so reduced, that she could never again come into the field; that, in this political solitude, this absence of all hope of alliance, nothing remained for this Country but to conclude a peace.—That the Confederacy, and former Alliances, must now be considered as fully dissolved; that another must be formed by other negotiations; and, that to bring those negotiations to any conclusion must be a work of much time, and great uncertainty; that, in the meantime, the war, if it were on war that we were resolved, must either be suspended or continued; if suspended, what was a suspended war but another name for a peace; a peace of precaution, a peace of security?—If the war were to be continued, it must be continued without Allies. To this he could never consent, because, in the present circumstances of Europe, and, as to any useful purpose, he was persuaded we were unequal to it: that the spirit of the country indeed was equal to it; but the spirit was one thing and the physical strength of the body another: that spirit was but another name for passion; generous indeed, but, like every other passion, not exactly under the controul of reason; but, if

the passion of courage, the passion of glory, led us to despise dangers; reason, recalling us from the elevation, brought us lower towards the ground.—That no one admired more than he the generous spirit of the country, but he had lived too long, and loved safety too well, to sacrifice it to a name: that he loved heroes in the field, but not in the cabinet.—He concluded by expressing as his opinion, that the situation of the country required peace.

"Mr. Windham did not approve of this mercantile calculation of the value of peace and war. An article of some value was totally omitted.—National honour, in his opinion at least, was no inconsiderable item. Was he called upon to make out a political bill, to balance the creditor and debtor side of peace and war, he should charge it at its full value. That a fruitless peace was, indeed, better than a fruitless war; as a negative evil, an evil of privation, was better than a positive evil, an evil of actual suffering. That war was, *prima facie*, an evil, and an evil of great magnitude, and was only relatively a good: that he differed much as to the efficiency of the country to maintain a war without a continental ally; but that he would not rigidly adhere to this opinion, as there were many, very many, of his best friends, men by whose judgment he had been accustomed to frame his own, who now differed with him upon this point; but that there was one point in which all his friends agreed, the necessity of a perfect union of one amongst another, an union which could only be preserved in its effective cohesion, by a steady adherence to one main connecting principle, and mutual sacrifices in points indifferent. That all he wished was, that, whether peace or war, the honour of the country should be considered, as well as its safety; that the future should be taken into consideration as well as the present; that we should not sacrifice future safety to present ease; and that we should value our honour, as the most effectual mean of our safety, above every petty

apparent good: He did not, indeed, approve of such a war as the present. He preferred a vigorous peace to an inactive war. He concluded by giving as his opinion,

'Better a peace like a war, than a warlike peace."

Lord Grenville was not present, but a gentleman, who was authorised to speak for him, declared for

'A safe and honourable peace; a peace rendered safe by guarantees, and honourable, by supporting an aspect and a reality, that should teach the enemy that we feared not war.

'Mr. Fox, then said, Thanks to the fortune of the country! thanks to the patriotism, which the common sense of our danger has kindled! there is a perfect unanimity, and let this be our mutual pledge:

'A safe and honourable peace.—A peace rendered safe by guarantees, and honourable, by presenting an aspect of strength.—A peace like a war—instead of a war like a peace.' Such was this celebrated meeting.

But here every impartial reader will perceive, that Englishmen think, as well as, to the present moment, appear to proceed, that if, to make peace, it was necessary to consult *one* party only, instead of *two*. Mr. Windham, it is true, censured a "mercantile calculation of peace and war; but, still even his censure was conceived in the spirit of a merchant, reasoning metaphysically. He was for adding *honour* to the account; not dreaming, that, if the enemy should be as strenuous in adding honour also, it would be impossible to say where hostilities would stop. Vigour, however, was necessary, even to save the remains of the English troops, that had not yet been withdrawn from the environs of Hanover. It was known that the King of Prussia had intimated to Lord Cathcart, that he could no longer be answerable for the safety of the British troops in the North of Germany. In fact, it was declared in France, that *Prussia* was *silenced;* while the same

Document shewed plainly that our party, who had been speculating upon peace, had, in reality, considered but one side of the question. This Note, bold in its language beyond all precedent, was issued in the form of a Circular, and distributed in great numbers upon the continent; it ran thus:

"FRENCHMEN!

"Your Emperor has conquered Austria, humbled Russia, silenced Prussia, and commanded the admiration of the world, by his *generosity* and *moderation*, as much as by his valour and achievements. England still dares to resist, but her resistance is the struggle, the agony of death: she is breathing her last! If she desires a few years longer existence, instead of immediate destruction, she *must*, in the East, re-establish the kingdom of Mysore, such as it was in 1784; restore Ceylon to Holland, and renounce her monopoly in India commodities and trade. In the est, she *must* give up Jamaica, as a security for her assistance to us to destroy the anarchy of the Blacks in St. Domingo. She must evacuate the Mediterranean, give up Malta to its Grand Master, and Gibraltar to its lawful and territorial sovereign. Nowhere will inimical ports be declared in blockade, or the flags of neutrals molested, insulted, and pillaged. The sea shall be as *free* as the earth, and, without the permission of the Emperor of the French, a vessel shall no more dare to sail, than a fort be built, or a cannon fired. Frenchmen! you are already (thanks to your heroic Emperor!) the most powerful of people; a little more patience, you will also be the most happy and the most wealthy.

(Signed) "DUBOIS, Prefect of Police.

(Countersigned) "PIIS, Secretary."

Paris, December 17, 1805.

This was truly the year of negotiations; as, about this time, copies of the Treaties of Concert, that had been made between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden trans-

pired to the public view; to these treaties the accession of Austria had been obtained. These state papers may be read with considerable interest: such a concert of powers, such objects of magnitude, such a host of men, such sums of money, would exceed belief, if we had not the authority of the acts themselves: 500,000 effective men were to be brought into the field against the common enemy, for which this country had stipulated to pay one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for every hundred thousand men; a sum of six millions two hundred thousand pounds a year, during the continuance of the war, the duration of which might have been very uncertain, as peace was not to be made with France but by the common consent of all the powers united in the League! In fact, there never was a treaty so plentifully sprinkled with the words, *energetic concert, energy, dispatch*, &c.; but, alas! the reader need not be told, that the fatal battle of Austerlitz put all these fine expressions to flight, and that stipulations on paper will, very frequently, vanish in the field!

The treaty of Presburg was also published in the same month.—It may be divided into two general heads; Territorial Cessions, and Indemnities. By this the Emperor of Austria ceded one third of his hereditary estates, the most fertile, highly cultivated, and the most populous of the Circles; besides the loss of all future influence or interference in the affairs of Germany!

The manifest designs of Prussia were not much longer concealed.—About the middle of February we learned, that a Proclamation was issued in Hanover, on the 5th of that month, announcing nothing less, than his Prussian Majesty's intention to incorporate the German dominions of his Britannic Majesty with his own; and directing the Constituted Authorities immediately to take the oath of Allegiance to their new sovereign.—This act was followed by shutting us out of the Elbe and the Weser, and will, hereafter, appear to have been the result of a treaty made

between the Prussian minister and the French Emperor, at the specific moment when every one supposed hostilities against France, on the part of Prussia, were inevitable. A step so unexpected as this naturally produced no common sensation upon the public mind and British Government. His Majesty's Declaration, in answer to this Proclamation, soon followed; as it embraces all the arguments in the Prussian Document, the production of the latter would be useless: besides, the British State Paper embraces a variety of important objects, and is a complete Compendium of historical events.

DECLARATION.

"*George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith; Duke of Brunswic and Lunenburgh; Arch-treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.*

"The Court of Prussia has avowed those hostile designs which she thought to conceal by her friendly professions."

The note *Verbate*, delivered on the 4th of April, by the Prussian Envoy, Baron Jacobi Kloest, to the British Ministry, announces, that the Electorate of Hanover has been taken possession of, and that the ports of the German Sea, and of Lubec, have been closed against the British flag.

"This Declaration gives the lie to all those assurances, by which the Cabinet of Berlin has, hitherto, endeavoured to cloak its proceedings: to which it, moreover, adds the pretension, that his Prussian Majesty has acquired, by his system of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the Northern Powers!

"Thus actually dispossessed of the ancient Inheritance of my Family, and insulted in my rights as a Sovereign, I have ordered those measures to be taken which the honour of my Crown requires: but I still owe it to myself, to Europe, and to my subjects, to make a public declaration

of my sentiments, as Elector of Brunswic Lunenburgh, upon the unjust usurpation of my German possessions.

"It is not necessary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations or to the laws of the German Empire; their infraction is too evident to be required to be proved. It is the most sacred principles of good faith, of honour, and, in fact, of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal safety of different states among themselves, and of each civil society in itself, repose, which are trodden under foot in such a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cause the facts to be laid before them, which are authenticated in the Narrative which I have ordered to be prepared.

"The proceedings of the Court of Berlin, when the Electorate was occupied by its troops in 1804; its conduct, far from being friendly, during the negotiation for the Indemnities, which followed the peace of Luneville; the declaration which it made when France prepared to invade the Electorate; and, lastly, the burthensome conditions under which it endeavoured to cause it to be evacuated, to substitute her own troops instead of those of France, had given too many proofs to the Government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all sort of intervention on the part of this Power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a dispute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, gave the Prussian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the Electorate.

"This step was accompanied by the most friendly protestations on the part of Prussia: she invited the Hanoverian Government to resume its functions in my name and to collect the wreck of the army.

"The country, already so unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requisitions extorted by the

Prusssian corps, without the least regard to the situation in which the French left it.

"After the unfortunate result of the campaign of the Allies in the South of the Empire, an attack in the North was to be expected. His Imperial Majesty of Russia, to obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the Convention of Potsdam, his troops, under Count de Tolstoy, and the corps of General Benningsen, under the orders of his Prussian Majesty, and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect: this, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The Secret Treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by Count Haugwitz and the French General Duroc, the 15th of December, 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which Count Haugwitz was to make to her in consequence of the Convention of Potsdam.

"Seven days after (December 22nd) the Cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador the arrangements to be taken, in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the Allied Armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, Lieutenant-colonel Baron de Krusemark, with a letter to the Hanoverian Government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hameln.

"It was necessary to concur in this arrangement, which was only provisionally terminated the 4th of January) because it was to prevent the French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negotiation.

"Was the Court of Berlin, then, ignorant in what

manner Count Haugwitz had concluded this negotiation? Did it not know, before the signature of the Treaty, what would be the end of it? or, did that Minister dispose as he pleased of the good faith of his Master? . . .

"It was on the 27th of January that the Cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian Government, 'That, in consequence of a treaty signed and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops; that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian Majesty and to his exclusive administration.' The Hanoverian Government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian Commission of Administration, excluding all foreign reference!

"The Dispatch, addressed the 25th of January to the Prussian Minister, and intended to justify this proceeding, was signed with the King of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words: 'I think it unnecessary to observe, how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness of the country and its inhabitants, and, by that means, satisfactory to his Britannic Majesty, to whom I desire nothing more than to give, in this instance, as in all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power.'

"The experience of the past, and a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my Electoral Government was instructed not to enter into any negoti-

ation, the object of which might have been, to avoid a new French invasion by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.

"The Protest made upon this occasion, by my Electoral Minister of State, was ineffectual.—The King of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked, and his measures were executed without the least regard.

"It was too easy to foresee, that Count Haugwitz would find means, at Paris, to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, announced here as ratified by the Contracting Parties, to its original intention.

"This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation, according to the Treaty of December 15th, the very day that Marquis De Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the Articles agreed upon at Vienna!

"The Answer, returned by the British Cabinet to the Communication of January 25th, did not arrive at Berlin until after the Minister of State, Baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British Envoy the hostile measures, which have compelled me to suspend my relations with a Court which could so far forget itself.

"The Prussian Note, of April 4th, can furnish no good arguments to establish an unjustifiable measure:

"It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia!—This disposition is no further sincere than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The Note delivered by the Cabinet of Berlin to the French Minister, on the 14th of October, at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges, that the conduct which she had followed to that time had proved of advantage to France.

"Her actions had much less pretensions to the charac-

ter of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops, who seized on the Electorate of Hanover, a passage through the Prussian territory, she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the Emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies.

"France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.

"She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia would terminate; which, in fact, appeared to be stifled when his Imperial Majesty of Russia engaged in a personal communication with the King.

"Prussia then demanded subsidies of Great Britain, which were promised to her; and she signed the Convention of Potsdam, the conditions of which she would, doubtless, have been more disposed to fulfil, if I could have so far forgotten my duty, as to consent to the proposition of ceding the Electorate of Hanover for some Prussian province.

"Prussia affirms, that, from the events of the war, she has not had the choice of means to secure the safety of its Monarchy and of the States of the North: she wishes to make it appear, that she has been compelled to aggrandize herself, and to become the instrument, rather than the object of the vengeance, of my enemies.

"Such an avowal does not become a great power. All Europe knows, that it depended on Prussia, before the Battle of Austerlitz, to give repose to Europe, if she had taken the part which her real interests and the outraged honour of her Monarchy dictated to her: she can no longer be excused, after having missed such an opportunity: and, even since this event of the 2nd December, did she not command an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, who still remember the victories it obtained under the great Frederic; which was in the best dispositions and supported by the whole Russian army? two corps of

which were actually under the command of the King of Prussia! She would, without doubt, have been subject to certain risks; but she found herself in a situation, when every danger must be encountered to save the honour of the State. The prince who hesitates in making a choice, destroys the principle which serves as the basis of a military monarchy; and Prussia ought, already, to begin to feel the sacrifice she has made of her independence.

"The Note of April 4th affirms, 'That France had considered the Electorate as its conquest, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive disposal of it.'"

"The Electorate of Hanover, as an integral part of the Germanic Empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheless, it has been unjustly invaded by that power, which has, notwithstanding, frequently indicated the object for which she was disposed to restore it.

"France was, at length, compelled to abandon the country, and forty thousand of my troops, and those of my Allies, were established there, when the Count De Haugwitz signed the Treaty which disposes of my states! It is true, that the Russian corps was then at the disposal of his Prussian Majesty; but its Chief, with the genuine spirit of an honourable man, was not the less determined to fight, if the Allies of his Master were attacked: we shall not speak of the French garrison which remained at Hameln, insufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being besieged, when the promises of Prussia caused the plan to be abandoned.

"The intention of France to dispose definitively of the Electorate, would have been contrary to the assertion she has often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the usage of war, since even a conquest is not definitively disposed of before a peace; and, particularly,

at a moment when a wish might exist to manifest a pacific disposition.

" Prussia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of opposing the return of my enemies to the Electorate. Her power furnishes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the interests she defends; but it is difficult to conceive in what light Prussia pretends that her measures removed troops that are strangers to the Electorate, and ensured the repose of the North. Her troops, in consequence of the treacherous conduct of her Cabinet, will remain as much strangers to the Electorate as the French troops.

" Prussia should not speak of her sacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandise herself, unless she feels the loss of her independence to be such, and how much she has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldest possessions of her House, and of subjects who implored, in vain, her assistance. Besides, her sacrifices have no connexion with my system of policy, and confer no right on her to usurp the government of my German subjects, whose fidelity nothing has, hitherto, shaken, and which they will retain towards my person, and a family of Princes, who, for many ages, have only sought their happiness.

" It is evident that the conduct of the Court of Berlin, is not the free expression of the will of its Sovereign, but the consequence of the influence exercised by my enemies in the Cabinet of that Prince. All the Courts, and all the States, however, who can judge of circumstances, and all that they owe to the system adopted by the Court of Berlin, will agree, that the act committed against a Sovereign united to his Prussian Majesty by the ties of blood, and, until now, by those of friendship, places the safety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hostility on the part of a power with which one might be at open war.

" Convinced of the justice of my cause, I make my appeal to all the powers of Europe, who are interested in re-

sisting the consolidation of a system, which, by threatening the political existence of an integral part of the German Empire, brings into question the security of the whole. I demand, most earnestly, the constitutional aid, which is due to me as Elector, from the Empire, its august Head, as well as Russia and Sweden, the Powers who have guaranteed its Constitution, and who have already manifested, and still continue to manifest, the most honourable disposition for the preservation of my States.

"Lastly, I protest in the most solemn manner, for myself and my heirs, against every encroachment on my rights in the Electorate of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in the quality of Elector, the Declaration made, by the Minister of my Crown, at the Court of Berlin, that no advantage arising from political arrangements, much less any offer whatever of indemnity, or equivalent, shall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian subjects, so as to yield my consent to the alienation of my Electorate.

Given at the Palace of Windsor, the 20th day of April, 1806, in the 46th Year of my Reign.

(L. S.) "GEORGE R."

THE END OF CHAP. XXIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

Death of the Marquis Cornwallis....Consequence of Buonaparte's Visit at Wirtemberg....The French Troops take Possession of Anspach....Reflections....Dignities conferred on Murat, Berthier, &c....Joseph Buonaparté crowned King of Naples....The French occupy Dalmatia....The French Exposé....Its importance....Affairs between England and Prussia...State of Holland, Anspach, Neufchatel....The Russians obtain Castel Nuovo, through the Treachery of the Austrian General, Brady....Brannau retained....Naples....Constantinople, &c.

THE next calamity subsequent to the deaths of Nelson and Pitt, was that of the Marquis Cornwallis, which occurred in the month of October preceding, at Ghagepaore, about one thousand miles from Calcutta. His Lordship left Calcutta to take the personal command of the army; and, as he preferred going by water, it was, in fact, undertaking a longer voyage than the one he had just completed. By being confined in a boat he was prevented from using his usual exercise, which, with the extreme heat of the weather, deprived him of his appetite. Though reduced to extreme debility, he still pressed forward; but, being, at length, obliged to be put ashore, he expired at Ghagepoare; he expired to the unspeakable regret of the whole Indian community; as it gave a sudden damp to all the expectations entertained of the restoration of a speedy peace.

After the return of Napoleon from visiting the Court of Wirtemberg at Stutgardt, it seems, some expressions made use of in the *Moniteur*, relative to the dignity and personal accomplishments of our Sovereign's daughter, during Napoleon's stay there, gave the English prisoners

such an idea of his gallantry; that, thinking he could not deny any thing to a lady, they solicited her to intercede with him, for their liberation, but without success. The following was her Answer to their

ADDRESS.

Stutgardt, Nov. 11, 1805.

"GENTLEMEN!

"You only do justice to my feelings, in being convinced that I take a very sincere part in the misfortunes of my Countrymen; and should be very desirous to assist them, did my power equal my good will. But I am sorry that you have deceived yourselves with fallacious hopes, that I could take any steps towards obtaining you leave to return to England. Any polite attentions shewn to me by the Emperor of the French during his stay at Louisbourg, do not authorise me to interfere in a business which must be settled between the two Governments. Though I cannot come forward as I could wish to do on this occasion, I beg you will be convinced of the regard with which I am, Gentlemen, your Friend,

"CHARLOTTE, Electress of Wirtemberg."

But his Britannic Majesty's Declaration did not by any means put an end to the crooked policy of Prussia; a few days more put us in possession of fresh complaints: the following Document created no small surprise:

PROCLAMATION

From GENERAL BERNADOTTE to the Inhabitants of the Country of Anspach.

Head-quarters at Anspach, Feb. 21.

"In consequence of a Treaty, concluded between France and Prussia, his Prussian Majesty has consented to cede Anspach to the King of Bavaria; and the occupation of this country, conformably to the said Treaty, was to take place at the same moment that the troops of the King of Prussia were to take possession of Hanover.

The Prussians having occupied the Electorate, I have received orders to proceed to the occupation of Anspach. The revenues and the resources of the country shall be put in sequestration, for the maintenance of the troops which shall occupy it, during the time which shall be judged necessary.

"The army, the command of which is entrusted to me, shall observe strict discipline; and I will punish, with all the rigour of the laws, every soldier who shall desert, or who shall disturb the tranquillity of the inhabitants.

"On my part, I have reason to hope that the people of Anspach will receive, as they ought, the troops under my orders.

"BERNADOTTE."

The conduct of Prussia, however, began now to develope itself; and several persons, likewise, began to attach credit to what a political Writer had asserted, several months previous to this circumstance, viz.: "That before the expiration of a very short period, either the Prussians must march to Paris, or the French would march to Berlin." The latter was still the most wished for: it was justly observed of the King of Prussia, that his neutrality had first ruined the common cause; and yet, after contributing to its ruin, he claimed a share of the spoil! In the meanwhile, the French Emperor continued daily gaining strength and extending his influence: his brother Joseph was proclaimed, and accepted, King of Naples; Murat was invested with the Dutchies of Cleves and Berg; while another decree transferred the complete sovereignty of Neufchatel to Marshal Berthier, and the principality of Guastalla on her Royal Highness the Princess Paulina, and her spouse, the Prince Borghese. Of the first, it was observed, "the safeguard of an important part of the frontiers of his Majesty's Empire, will be entrusted to Prince Murat: can his Majesty place it

in better hands?" The States of Parma and Plaisance, Venice, and the little Republic of Lucca, were all put under new arrangements by this new Decree of the Thuilleries, in March 1806. About this time, also, the French troops took possession of the distant province of Dalmatia; by which means an easy access to the Turkish provinces was at all times secured, and Austria, in a manner, hemmed in by her natural enemy.

Nearly at the same period, the practice of giving the public an *Exposé*, or an official statement of the public affairs, was first introduced by the French Government, and a monthly repetition of it promised, from the same authority: this, it was then observed, "would throw some light upon the labyrinth of false reports, by which the lawful speculations of fair and honest merchants might otherwise be injured." Such an introduction did not fail exciting a considerable interest in these Papers. The present will be found both political and historical; and, for its brevity in the latter point of view, peculiarly interesting.

FRENCH EXPOSE.

Paris, April 18.

"England has declared war against Prussia! All the King's ships have received orders to attack the Prussian vessels; and letters of marque have been issued to privateers. Is this a just proceeding on the part of the English Government? Is it a politic one? These are questions which it is not our intention to examine. It is sufficient for us to discover, that this measure is advantageous to France; that one of its first consequences will be, to shut the North against the English trade; and that there is little wisdom on the part of England in acting so towards a considerable power, whom she forces into a nearer connexion with France; and whom she determines to remove from her councils, the agents and the influence of England. France and Prussia united, can, if

they please, shut the Sound. If England had learned how to accommodate her policy to circumstances, she would have maintained her party and her creatures in credit at Berlin. She would have rendered the blockade of the ports of the North less severe. She would have, in fact, preserved the advantage which she derives from the Prussian flag; for commerce has occasion for intermediate agents between the merchant and the consumer. But, however it may be, we cannot consider this new political event but as tending to accelerate peace; for, assuredly, Prussia is neither a weak enemy for England nor a weak Ally for France. We know, that there are persons who accustom themselves, with difficulty, to the idea of these connexions between France and Prussia; but they do not see, that the hesitation, which was first manifested by the latter Cabinet, depended upon temporary circumstances, which have neither altered the principles of the King, nor those of his most faithful and intelligent servants. If there was any thing which gave offence to France, it could only be imputed to a frantic Minister, who was sold to England, who was formerly in her service, and who quitted it for reasons which the dignity of this Paper will not allow us to mention. It, perhaps may be supposed, that England, in the new circumstances in which she finds herself with regard to Prussia, had no medium left her, and could not avoid declaring war. But the occupation of Hanover by Prussia was the only mean of preventing the French from returning to that country; and, if they had returned, the freedom of the English trade would not have been the greater. It may be said, that 'Prussia has not only shut the ports of the Elbe and the Weser, as they were by the French, but that the occupation was made in the name of the King, and in the same form, as if he had determined to annex this fine province to his vast monarchy.' However there is nothing, in fact, to prove that this was the inten-

tion of Prussia; and it is very possible, that the cession of Cleves, Anspach, and Neufchatel, may relate to some other principles of arrangement, since the population of all the three does not equal a fifth of the population of Hanover. Some discussion, therefore, might have taken place between Prussia and England; and the wisest course would have been, not to have begun by declaring war. Supposing occupation to be equal to final incorporation, England, instead of avoiding that consequence, makes it more certain; for, whatever losses the Prussian trade may experience, during two or three years war, she will be indemnified by the more considerable loss which the trade of her enemy will sustain; and England submits to these losses for an interest which the English nation has always disowned.—It has always considered Hanover as a foreign property, solely belonging to the House of Brunswic: how happens it, that it has so suddenly changed its principles in this respect?

"It appears, that M. Schimmelpenninck, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, has entirely lost his sight.—Who is to be his successor? What effect will be produced by this change in the magistracy? These questions excite the attention and anxiety of all the Dutch who are sincerely attached to the country. It is well known, that the Emperor never gave any positive sanction to the late changes in the constitution of that country; and that he said, on that occasion, that the prosperity and liberty of nations could only be assured by two modes of government; either a tempered and constitutional Monarchy; or a Republic, constituted according to the theory of liberty, and which should be the true organ of the public will. All nations cannot, with safety, leave to the people the choice of their representatives; and when a nation has to apprehend the effects of assembling the people; when the advantages which it expects are less than the inconveniencies which it foresees; such a nation, which cannot find protection under a Republican form of government,

has recourse to the principles of a good and prudent Monarch. Under the present constitution of Holland, the Grand Pensionary has more power than the King has in England: he has even more than the Emperor has in France, or than any sovereign has in any country: and, what is without example, in a Republic, their High Mightinesses, or the Representative Bodies have been nominated by the Grand Pensionary! The defect of this constitution cannot escape the observation of the sagacious. That cannot be called a Republic, where the representative and legislative bodies are not nominated by the electors: and if there be any fear of the electors, it will be best to renounce at once the Republican form of government: a government, which neither having the advantages of a Republic nor of a Monarchy, combines all the inconveniencies of both, should not be absolutely prescribed. Such being the situation of Holland, she must be a gainer by any changes that she must make in her constitution. If the landholders, the merchants, the enlightened men, are of opinion, that they can have a representation made by the choice of the people, without distinction of classes or religion, they will create a system much more proper than the present one. If that be not their opinion, and that they think it necessary to have recourse to a constitutional Monarchy, they will do that which will be more advantageous to their country than the preservation of their existing constitution can be. It is their duty to examine their situation, to judge of the circumstances in which they are placed, and to choose, between the two systems, that which is best suited to them, and the most likely to establish, on a solid foundation, the public prosperity and liberty.

"Bavaria has taken possession of the Margravate of Anspach, and has ceded to France the Dutchy of Berg, which, united with that of Cleves, is settled upon Prince Joachim, the Grand Admiral of the Empire. Wesel is a strong fortress on our frontiers. The Dutchy of Cleves

gives us an advantageous point of contact with Holland; and France, for the future, will only find, on the right bank of the Rhine, princes who are allied by blood to the Imperial Family.

"General Oudinot has taken possession of the countries of Neufchatel and Valengin. He found those countries loaded with English merchandise, heaped there by the merchants of Switzerland, and principally by those of Basle. Of these the French army has taken to the amount of many millions: all the banks of the Lake of Neufchatel were covered with English manufactures. This circumstance justifies all the prohibitory measures which may be taken with regard to Switzerland.—That country is little more, at this moment, than a warehouse for English goods: when it shall be cleared of these manufactures, we shall, perhaps, have the means of giving a new check to our enemy. Is it possible that the Landamman was not struck with the danger to which he exposed the country? Who will protect Basle from a visit from the French army? Does this magistrate, who sees smuggling carried on by wholesale under his eyes, suppose that he is not responsible? If the French consider these depôts of prohibited goods, so publicly made, and to such great extent, a real act of hostility—if the French Government multiplies prohibitory laws between Switzerland, France, and Italy, will not the Landamman be the cause of it? and will not all the complaints that the Swiss may make be unjust and ill-founded?

"Dalmatia is occupied by the French army: it is separated from the mouth of the Cataro by the Republic of Ragusa: the country is mountainous, and the roads are bad. The French troops had arrived at Ragusa when the Fort of Castel Nuovo was delivered to 300 Russians by General Brady, who commanded 2,000 Austrians. This general, whose ancestors were English, has been wanting in respect to France, and has betrayed his Master. Upon receiving this information, Marshal Ber-

their gave orders, that Brannau, which defends the frontier of the Inn, and which was to have been given up on the 1st of April, should not be restored, and that it should be again garrisoned. The division of the Grand Army, which was on its way to France, has halted. The prisoners of war, that were to have been sent back to Germany, have been detained until further orders, in the places at which they were.

"This outrage offered by Russia, to the Austrian flag and arms is the more inconceivable, because the Russians are at Corfu, draw their provisions from the ports of Trieste and Fiume, a free communication with which has not been prohibited. The Court of Vienna has ordered that General Brady should be arrested and tried. It has expressed its dissatisfaction to Russia. It will cause Castel Nuovo, and the mouths of the Cataro, to be delivered up to France, without having occasion to reply by arms to this act of hostility.

"The Russians have evacuated Hanover, and returned home. The army which the Emperor Alexander commanded has also returned to Russia. After all the losses which it sustained, it is very natural that it should repair them by recruiting. A part of the troops which were at Corfu have returned to the Bosphorus, with General Lascy. A considerable part of those that were in Poland are marching towards Choczim and the Crimea. The illusion, with respect to the Russian armies, is no more. The French army which, in two months, dissipated the Third Coalition, was then only on the peace establishment: at the end of the three months, which have since elapsed, it finds itself on the war establishment! France has nothing to fear from all the forces of Europe; but no person will be able to form a Fourth Coalition. England knows full well that it would be money thrown away. She reflects, with terror, that the First Coalition, which lasted five years, made France mistress of Holland, Belgium, the Rhine, and all the Cisalpine country; that

the Second Coalition, which only lasted two years, gave to France Piedmont and Switzerland; that the Third, which only lasted three months, gave her Venice, Naples, and Genoa; that the least she could expect from a Fourth Coalition, would be Trieste and Fiume, and the eternal exclusion of the English from all the ports of Europe. Russia, recovered from the vain illusion by which she was deceived, well knows what thirty millions of people, scattered over an immense territory, and under the necessity of opposing the Persians, Turks, and Tartars, can do against forty millions of Frenchmen, united on the same platform, brave, active, and intelligent, and more capable of conquering Russia than the Russians are of conquering France.

"English, Russian, and Sardinian envoys, and a knot of malcontents, from all the countries in the world, had fixed on Rome as the centre of their machinations. The Emperor required, that they should be driven from thence; and that a sovereign, placed in his Empire should do nothing contrary to the safety of the Armies of Naples and Italy. The first care of an army should always be, not to allow itself to be surrounded, either by spies or those who encourage desertion. This demand gave rise to many Consistories; when the persons who were the objects of it did justice to themselves, and all evacuated Rome.

"The King of Naples is entirely conquered. The French troops are at Reggio, at Otranto, and at Taranto. Only a small body of the Neapolitan troops could embark and reach Sicily. That island is defended by 4,500 English: the presence of such enemies is an additional inducement for the French to go there. Gaeta, an insignificant fortress, with a garrison of 1,600 men, is besieged.

"The victory at Austerlitz has produced as much sensation at Constantinople as at Paris; the exultation there was sincere and universal. The government of the Porte is neither ignorant nor sold.—There may, at Constanti-

nople, be some traitors, but they are not numerous; whilst, on the contrary, the multiplied measures of Russia for sapping the foundations of this vast Empire, has not escaped the notice of the real Ottomans: they are not ignorant that the protection of France can alone be sufficient for the Porte; and that France is the only power interested in protecting her. The vicinity of the French in Dalmatia has inspired them with the liveliest joy. The Emperor Napoleon has been acknowledged Emperor. The Porte knows very well that its treaty with Russia was extorted; and that it is rather a treaty between a despotic prince and his vassal, than between sovereign and sovereign; that it is not the French who have excited the Greeks and Servians to insurrection, whose ships of war are anchored before Constantinople; and who are continually creating commotions in the Morea. This new attitude of the Porte has produced much uneasiness at St. Petersburgh; and, if the Porte shall be roused to acts of energy against Russia, there will not be found between those two powers the great difference that may be supposed. The Mussulman is brave; and, were he but directed and assisted, he would triumph over the Muscovite militia. It is not probable that the Porte will wish to go to war; but she has a right to preserve her independence, and to wish for protection against the insults of M. Italinsky, every proceeding of whom, when he communicates with the Divan, is only calculated to excite hatred and indignation."

THE END OF CHAP. XXX.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Capture of the Marengo and Admiral Linois....War between Sweden and Prussia....Swedish Declaration.... Louis Buonaparté appointed King of Holland....Beloved by the People, for removing sinecure Placemen and Pensioners....Extraordinary Declaration of Mr. Fox, in the Commons, relative to continental Affairs....Official Observations in the Moniteur upon the same, &c. &c....Reflections.

EARLY in the month of May we had the satisfaction of learning, that the Marengo, of 80 guns, Admiral Linois, and the Bellepoule of 40, had been taken, by the squadron under Sir John Borlaise Warren, on their return from the East Indies to France, after a short engagement; in which Admiral Linois struck to the London, of 98 guns, and the Amazon frigate. These vessels had done great injury to British commerce in that quarter of the world. The chagrin experienced at Paris, on this fresh subject of mortification, was not trivial; it gave birth to the following paragraph, which appeared in the French papers.

"The astonishment of the public mind was considerable, upon hearing that the Marengo and the Bellepoule were taken, by an English ship of the line and a frigate. In vain it was objected, that the English ship was a three decker, as it is a clear case that no English ship alone ever captured a French ship; and, much less, a ship that had been three years at sea, and whose crew was in the best state of discipline. Of course it was with increased satisfaction, that the people were informed, that the first account of this affair, published by the English, was false. Admiral Linois fell in with Admiral Warren's squadron in

the night: he would very easily have got rid of the Loudon; but two other ships of the line, the Achilles and the Ramillies, coming up, he was compelled to strike."

The next affair of importance, as resulting from the conduct of Prussia, was the commencement of a war between that power, and the King of Sweden. Swedish troops, among others, had long been employed in the North of Germany, to guard, for a certain power, the precious Electorate of Hanover! But the following State Paper contains a compendious History of the causes of this movement: to which it only need to be added, that, after the exchange of a few shots, and the killing of a very small number of men, the Swedish troops thought proper to commence their retreat to Pomerania: this happened about the 20th of April.

SWEDISH DECLARATION.

"From the moment his Swedish Majesty had determined upon taking a part in the Coalition against the usurpations of Napoleon Buonaparté, his Majesty had fixed his attention upon the preservation of the Electoral possessions of the King of England upon the continent, which had been evacuated by the French troops. Ready to enter them with a Swedish and Russian army, united under his orders, his Majesty hastened, upon the first intelligence of the movement of a Prussian corps towards that country, to enquire into the intentions of his Prussian Majesty, and, in full confidence, to demand of him, whether the march of his troops had the same object as that of the Combined Army; namely, that of restoring the Electorate of Hanover to its legitimate possessor, and, in that case, to concert with his Prussian Majesty the joint measures to be taken. The King of Prussia, from that period evaded entering into any explanation relative to this important object, and that in a manner far from friendly. The irresolution, since manifested by this Sovereign, in joining the cause of the Allies,

could not but tend to augment his Majesty's suspicion; and his Majesty did not hesitate to anticipate events, in causing it to be publicly made known at a period when the intentions of the Court of Prussia, with respect to the States of his Britannic Majesty, could only be matter of conjecture, that the country of Lauenburgh should still remain under the protection of the Swedish troops until a convention for that purpose was concluded with the King of England. It was the sole right of this Monarch only, as proprietor of the country, to decide upon the future fate of his Hereditary States: every arrangement, therefore, relative thereunto, between France and Prussia, was inadmissible.

"It was, notwithstanding, upon this arrangement, that the King of Prussia, in his Proclamation of January 27th, which was published soon after, endeavoured to assert his right to the complete occupation of the Electorate of Hanover. The reiterated protestations, made by the Court of Berlin on this occasion, of being induced to take this step merely to save the country from greater calamities, ought to have been received as a guarantee for its future independence. This language, however, did not last long; instead of regarding the Electorate as a depôt till the return of a general peace, as his Prussian Majesty had solemnly announced, in the Proclamation before cited, a new Proclamation, issued from Berlin, dated April 1st, announced, on the contrary, the definitive union of these provinces to the Prussian Monarchy; a measure which the Court of Berlin pretended was founded upon the right of conquest, and a formal treaty with France.

"In this state of things, the King, faithful to his engagements with his Britannic Majesty, thought he could not use too much circumspection, when the abandoning of the German States of his Ally became the subject of consideration; which, being once delivered from the presence of the Swedish troops, must soon have fallen under the power of the Prussians. His Majesty, therefore, con-

fining himself to the protection of the countries on this side of the Elbe, on his departure from Ratsburg, declared, that having left in this Dutchy a corps of Swedes, under the orders of his *aide-de-camp*, general commandant, Count Lowenhielm, he should look upon any attack upon these troops, and the independence of the country, as a measure of aggression against his own states. This Declaration has been repeatedly made; and, particularly, in the Letter of Count Lowenhielm, dated April 18th, to the Prussian military commandants in Hanover, and the country of Mark. Count Lowenhielm said, expressly, that he had the strictest orders to defend Lauenburg against any foreign troops that should attempt to enter it. Notwithstanding this, a detached corps passed that frontier at Marieustett, on the 23rd of this month, and, in spite of the brave resistance of the Swedish troops, by the superiority of their numbers, they took forcible possession of the country.

"Under the present circumstances, the King could not regard this violent measure otherwise than as an act of hostility on the part of his Prussian Majesty; consequently, he has ordered an embargo to be laid upon all the Prussian vessels in the Swedish ports.

"If his Majesty has so long delayed to resent the outrages committed upon him and his Allies by the Court of Berlin, it has arisen from his Majesty's constant wish to avoid every thing that might lead to a rupture as long as possible. The intimate connexion subsisting between the King of Prussia and Napoleon Buonaparté, the declared enemy of the Three Allied Courts; the exclusion of the English commerce from the ports and rivers of the North of Germany, together with the unjust authority established in the Electorate of Hanover—all these were sufficient indications of the real system of his said Majesty; and the attack which has been just made upon the Swedish troops in Lauenburg has put the last seal to it."

The duplicity of Prussia was not less resented in its own capital than in foreign parts; there, as the disaffected could not vent their spleen upon the Monarch, they attacked the Minister: the windows of Count Haugwitz's house having been broken three times successively, it was, at length, found necessary to have a military patrol, to prevent a repetition of these outrages.

In the meanwhile, the plan of Napoleon, for new modelling the Germanic Empire, was going on apace; its object was to deprive the Emperor Francis of the least shadow of authority over any of the princes, ecclesiastical or secular. It was, also, determined that Louis Buonaparté should be the new King of Holland. This change, it was thought, the Dutch, one of the oldest and most celebrated Republics in Europe, would never submit to; but the situation was new; and having no remedy, the change, which could not be for the worst, was endured without a murmur. The new King took possession almost without ceremony, as the new Constitutional Code, and the following short Proclamation, was nearly all that was said on the occasion: the Dutchmen nodded assent, replenished their pipes, and every thing went on as before!

"*Louis Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the constitutional Laws of the State, King of Holland.*

"*To all whom it may concern, Health!*

"We publish and make known to all, That, with the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor and King, Napoleon, our illustrious Brother, we have assumed, and do assume the royal dignity of King of Holland, agreeably to the wishes of the people, to the constitutional laws, and to the treaty and mutual ratification, this day presented to us by the Deputies of the Dutch Nation at Paris. On our coming to the throne, our most anxious care shall be to watch for the interests of the people: we shall always be solicitous to give them constant and unremit-

ed proofs of our attention, preserving, for that purpose, the liberty of all our subjects, with their rights, and continually employing ourselves in promoting their welfare.

"The independence of the kingdom is guaranteed by his Majesty the Emperor and King. The laws of the constitution, and our fixed determination, extend equally to all, for the security of their demands on the States, for their personal safety, and their liberty of conscience.

"It is also agreed, that the Dutch language shall continue to be exclusively employed for all laws, proclamations, &c. without exception.

"The King and the Law shall extend equal protection to all the modes of religion professed by the State; and the exercise of all religious worship, in all cases, to be performed within the walls of the different churches, the King being a Catholic; it is also stipulated, that he shall enjoy in his palaces, and in every place where he may fix his residence, the free and public exercise of his religion."

Louis, to his credit it may be affirmed, did not forget his promises. His new officers were laid under no small responsibility for any neglect of duty; particularly, that of preventing any access to his person by way of petition, &c. In fact, an English Gentleman, a recent traveller in Holland, has gone so far as to assert, that Louis is even beloved in that country for his affability and condescension; and, especially, for removing a great number of pensioners and sinecure placemen from the shoulders of the people. What a lesson for other sovereigns to "go and do likewise!"

At home, while these transactions were passing on the continent, the friends of the new ministry, and, particularly, the partisans of Mr. Fox, were in anxious expectation of seeing something done by them in favour of peace. On the contrary, others were alarmed lest Mr. Fox, from his well known disapprobation of the war, whilst out of

place, should sacrifice the honour, or, rather, the interest of the country, after he had got into office. From all these apprehensions, both parties were effectually relieved by the remarkable Speech of this popular Minister, in the Commons, on Friday the 30th of May, 1806. It was the immediate subject of panegyric in the old ministerial papers, one of them observed: "He spoke with great animation and force of argument; and affirmed, in the most emphatic manner, that it would be disgraceful for this country to remain merely in an insulated state, and that its importance in the scale of nations entitled it to continental connexions, which, to a certain extent, he conceived it to be our duty and interest to maintain. He spoke with much approbation of the established system of a balance of power, which he thought the policy of all countries ought to regard, particularly after the encroachments of France.—For this purpose, in his opinion, it was necessary that we should much increase our military establishment; for, though our army was, doubtless, sufficient for domestic security, it did not afford us power to give any effectual assistance to other countries, and to make that figure on the continent which became our national character."

It must be owned, his friends at home were surprised at hearing him talk of acting offensively on the continent, of the necessity of Allies, and the balance of power. Others imputed the change of Mr. Fox's sentiments to his change of situation; few imagined, however, that the seeds of a new continental war were ripening apace; that all the negotiations between Russia and France, as well as those between England and France, were to end in smoke! Even Napoleon and Talleyrand were deceived, or affected so to be, with respect to Prussia and Russia; which, with other objects of importance, appeared from the following official observations, in the *Moniteur* of June 3rd:

"The disputes between Russia and Austria are amicably adjusted, and the mouths of the Cataro are evacuated by the Russian troops.

"M. D'Oubril, who is sent to Paris by his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, brought orders with him to this effect, which he communicated to M. Rasumowsky, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, who immediately forwarded them, in order that the place should be evacuated without loss of time.

"In consequence of this auspicious intelligence, the French troops will immediately evacuate Germany; the fortress of Brannau will be restored to the Austrians, and the Treaty of Presburgh literally fulfilled.

"If the affairs of the continent take a favourable direction, it will not be for the want of any exertion on the part of England to prevent it: she has done every thing in her power to throw all again into confusion. Who does not, in fact, see revealed the policy of England: to sow discord and disquiet among the powers of the continent: to play the tyrant upon the ocean, in order that she may carry on her commercial monopoly at pleasure? This is the incessant object of these eternal enemies of nations: they know the value of the pound of blood of every nation in Europe."

Upon that passage in Mr. Fox's Speech of May 30th, wherein he expressed his opinion, that, should a favourable opportunity occur, he would not object to risk a part of our military force in recovering for Europe what had been lost in the last campaign, it was remarked,

"This passage, is really extraordinary.—What does he (Mr. Fox) mean by acting offensively upon the continent? What war is there on the continent? Who are the Allies of England in this war? Is it Prussia? But, if we rightly read the Declaration of England, she has ordered the Prussian vessels to be detained; and in that we cannot recognise a stipulation of alliance.—Is it Austria? but, before we can suppose Mr. Fox thinks so, we must set

him down as ignorant of the Treaty of Presburgh. Is it Russia? We must also suppose, Mr. Fox does not know that which is known to almost all Europe at this day.—Let him be well persuaded, that the Court of St. Petersburgh does not know what she herself has to fear from England upon the seas and in the East; and that she is ignorant that the affront, which has been offered to her ambassador in China, has been produced by the intrigues of the English factory. We must suppose, in fact, that Mr. Fox is ignorant that the mouths of the Cataro have been restored to Austria; that Brannau is, in consequence, restored to the Emperor of Germany; and that the Grand Army, in the course of a few weeks, will be united in Paris, for the *fetes* which were intended to take place in the month of May. It is true, that the intrigues of the English retarded these *fetes* three months; but it would be easy for us to prove, that the power of France has been increased by the delay, and that her system has been consolidated. It is thus that the efforts of England always turn to our advantage.

"If she will only make peace when she shall have recovered all that she has lost on the continent; which, probably, means, when she shall have effected the re-establishment of the Stadtholder in Holland, of Austrian Belgium, of the Doges at Venice and Genoa, and of her victim at Naples, this declaration is by no means consoling for the creditors of the English debt. Mr. Windham himself, excellent an officer as he is, knows, that it will require twenty campaigns to succeed to this extent; and the re-establishment of the Princes, who owe their fall to nothing else than England, does not offer a very encouraging prospect to the new Allies who would engage in this Fourth Coalition.

"But, if we are to believe these orators, their new military system is to change every thing. What nonsense! At no period have armies, purely English, ever rendered themselves conspicuous on the continent. Thus

the troops of the Black Prince were composed of Bretons, Gascons, and Normans. Charles the Bad, the Dukes of Burgundy, the great Feudatories who betrayed their Prince, produced the success of England. Thus the armies of Marlborough consisted of Dutch and Germans, and only a small number of English. It is true, the Duke of York commanded an army wholly English, when he appeared, in our days, before Dunkirk; but we know the result of the battle of Houdscoote. It is true, that this same Prince commanded an army entirely English when he landed in Holland; but the retreat of Alkmaar will not be compared with that of the Ten Thousand. It is true, that more lately, also, and in the last war, the English landed in Naples; but they only appeared there to overturn the throne; and, after having thus destroyed it, they did not honour its fall with a drop of their blood!

"They have also appeared in Hanover; but here their triumphs were limited to the power of re-embarking, an advantage which they owed solely to the King of Prussia; that Prince whom they treat, at this moment, with so little consideration.

"Should it even be true, that England had considerable armies in the time of Louis XIV. and XV., we are to draw no conclusion from that respecting her actual military powers; she had not then the great extent of possessions which now belong to her. Were her army as great as it has been, it would be annihilated by the establishments which these detachments require. Thus, she is obliged to keep forty regiments in the East Indies, ten in the West, two at Malta, two at Gibraltar, &c. A nation of nine millions of people, which before it can have a man for its own defence, is obliged to send fifty regiments to the East and West Indies, to oppose the entire Indian population, the Negroes, the Canadians,

and the yellow fever, can never be a military power in Europe; and, it is in these circumstances that England has lost 25,000 Hanoverian soldiers—a loss which she will never repair. The English are laughing at the princes of Europe, when they suppose that governments are weak enough not to make these calculations; and not to see that a nation, which has occasion for fifty regiments to defend its colonies, and an hundred and fifty thousand sailors to protect its commerce and maintain its squadrons, is incapable of any effort in continental affairs: besides, these fine speeches of England, when she wishes to seduce cabinets and form coalitions, have never been justified by facts. Let us recal to our recollection what ministers did at the time of the First Coalition.—Instead of employing these means, which appear so powerful and formidable in the mouths of their speakers, or their emissaries, the English attacked St. Domingo, Porto Rico, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and seemed to have no other anxiety than to plunder the commerce of their friends as well as their enemies. In the Second Coalition, they went to Egypt, in place of fighting with their Allies on the plains of St. Domingo. In the Third, they went to the Cape of Good Hope, instead of throwing ten thousand men more into the kingdom of Naples; and, when England acted thus, no one can say that she acted ill, for she could not act otherwise. As she is obliged to pay considerable sums to her Allies, she has no other means of doing it than by plundering the trade of other powers.

"The English nation is brave; but it cannot be denied that the French nation has also its warlike bent. The armies of those two countries must be in proportion to their respective populations; and upon this basis it is clear, that the English army can only be to the French army in the proportion of one to three. Besides, to preserve this proportion, it would be necessary that

England should abandon the idea of keeping up fifty regiments in both the Indies, and reduce, by one half, the hundred and fifty thousand sailors who are on board her fleets. But, with all Mr. Fox's eloquence, he will find it difficult to persuade the Bank, and Indian Company, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this reduction of military force is a good calculation."

There is but too much truth in these observations; but they were not without their errors. Russia was still well affected to England, Austria the same; and Prussia, beginning to smart under the privations of commerce, and the conveniencies which her conduct towards England had deprived her of, was heartily tired of her new Ally, and the useless possession of Hanover. Nor did the Writer of the *Moniteur*, when he talked of the Grand Army being collected at Paris, in the course of a few weeks, to celebrate the *fetes*, which had been retarded by the English three months, once imagine, that, before the recollection of them could have time to subside, it would be necessary for the Emperor Napoleon again to put himself at the head of his legions, and to combat enemies at a greater distance from his Capital than ever; otherwise, he would not have released all the Russian ships in French ports, and suffered them to proceed home. M. D'Oubril, while at Paris, negotiated a separate treaty of peace, which, in the end, the Emperor Alexander refused to ratify. In the meanwhile, the British ministry, and their partisans, were too well acquainted with the real state of affairs to be alarmed at this Treaty. The papers, under their influence, predicted, that the Emperor Alexander would not ratify a treaty which did not include England in the negotiation, and they were right. But, after all, as D'Oubril was never censured by his magnanimous Employer for this pretended breach of his authority, some persons that very clearly perceived, that the whole was only a contrivance to

gain time, till Prussia, as a fresh member, should come into the Coalition, and Russia be in readiness also to support her. But, the manner in which this formidable Coalition was defeated, and even annihilated, by the rapidity of Napoleon's superior tactics, and the usual ardour of his troops, will be the subject of the succeeding chapters.

THE END OF CHAPTER XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Siege of Gaeta....Affairs of Naples....Battle of Maida....Destruction of a French Squadron at St. Domingo....Of Jerome Buonaparté's Squadron on the American Coast....Cape of Good Hope captured....Mr. Fox's Discovery of a Proposal to assassinate the French Emperor....Lord Yarmouth becomes a Negotiator....M. D'Oubril negotiates a separate Peace with France.... The Emperor of Russia refuses to ratify it....Hopes of a new War entertained by England....Embarrassments of Prussia....Negotiations broken off at Paris....The News received with Joy at the Stock Exchange, &c....Napoleon sets out to join his Armies.

THOUGH Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples, had been styled, "an insignificant fortress" in the *Moniteur*, it still remained a thorn in the side of the new King, Joseph. A German, the Prince of Hesse Philipstahl, was the commandant, and he refused to obey the summons to surrender, sent in by General Regnier. The commandant's activity was so indefatigable, that the valour with which the place was defended excited the attention and increased the satisfaction of all the enemies of France. A hundred pieces of cannon, with five mortars, were, at length, brought to bear upon the place; but it was several months, and not without a very great loss on the part of the French, before the garrison surrendered; when the Prince of Hesse Philipstahl, though wounded, succeeded in making his escape to the Island of Sicily.

The Russian forces that had been in Naples were withdrawn to Corfu; still the affections of the people were by no means attached to the new sovereign: the Calabrians, in particular, were uncommonly inimical to the

new order of things: the retaliation exercised by the French generals, probably, goaded them on to open insurrection. In the meanwhile, the British troops in the Island of Sicily, being commanded by Sir James Stuart, who was not insensible to the progress of a hostile spirit upon the continent, was not long before they had an opportunity presented, which led to an enterprise that will form a splendid figure in the future annals of British history. In the month of July, 1806, General Stuart embarked from Sicily, with a force of about 5,000 men, and landed at St. Euphemia, on the opposite shore. The French general, Regnier, though taken by surprise, was no sooner informed of this landing, than he marched his troops, stationed at Reggio, and collected his scattered detachments on his way, to meet the English, in full confidence of success. Having arrived within ten miles of their army, he encamped on the side of a woody hill, with a force, upon the whole, not less than 7,000 men.—His flanks were strengthened by an impervious underwood; and the Amato, a fordable river, the sides of which were very marshy, was in his front. On the 4th General Stuart approached this French force, over a spacious plain, which gave him an opportunity of observing their minutest motions. About nine o'clock in the morning, after some loose firing on both sides, to cover the manœuvrings of the two armies, the opposing fronts were warmly engaged. The right of the advanced line consisted of Lieutenant-colonel Kempt's battalion of light infantry, with the light companies of seven other regiments, and 150 chosen battalion men, under Major Robinson, who were opposed by the French regiment of St. Legere. A few rounds, it is said, were fired reciprocally by both armies, at the distance of about one hundred yards; when, as if by mutual consent, both parties advanced towards each other till their bayonets began to close. At this momentous crisis, the enemy's courage forsook them; they broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too

late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter. General Ackland availed himself of the opportunity to press with his brigade, which was upon the left of the light infantry, upon the French corps in front; this completed their dismay and disorder on the left, and covered the plain with their dead and wounded. In hopes of retrieving the victory, the French made a new effort on the right, where they were received with the most undaunted firmness by General Cole's brigade, and the grenadiers and 27th regiment, under Colonels Smith and O'Callaghan. The French cavalry, repelled successively from before their front, attempted to turn their left; when Lieutenant Ross, who had, that morning, landed from Messina, with the 20th regiment, and was coming to join the army, by a well directed fire, totally disconcerted the last attempt of the French, who, astonished and dismayed, now retreated from the field in every direction. The ground was covered with dead and wounded, and 700 of the former were buried on the spot; a general, and a lieutenant-colonel, were among the latter, which amounted to 1,000. Several detachments, afterwards, surrendered prisoners of war; while the loss on the part of the British, according to "The London Gazette," consisted of 1 officer, 3 serjants, 41 rank and file killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, and 260 rank and file wounded! However, circumstances did not permit the English to follow up these astonishing advantages, or to pursue the remainder of the enemy.

But what was most surprising, the French Government never published any account of this affair, which has obtained the name of The Battle of Maida, nor yet passed any censure upon General Regnier, who lost it. In fact, General Stuart did not even attempt to keep the ground he had gained; but, as it was observed here, "with that prudence which should always accompany valour, reimbarked, soon after, for Sicily;" so that this

most splendid victory was attended by no permanent advantage, excepting the impression it made of the discipline and bravery of British soldiers, which was of incalculable value.

The destruction of a French squadron, near St. Domingo, was another circumstance which distinguished 1806. Early in February they were discovered, near Ocean Bay, by Admiral Duckworth.—By judicious manœuvres he secured their being brought to action; his own force consisted of seven sail of the line, that of the enemy of five. The French, notwithstanding their inferior numbers, fought with great intrepidity, during two hours; at the end of which, their commander run his ship, L'Imperiale, of 120 guns, on shore, in which he was followed by the captain of the Diomede: the three others, the Alexandre, the Braave, and the Egyptienne, struck immediately, and were taken possession of. The Diomede and L'Imperiale were, afterwards, burnt by the English, whose success was as complete as could be expected. Still another of the enemy's squadrons, under Admiral Guillamez, with Prince Jerome, remained unaccounted for: the latter had taken several transports from Gibraltar, with troops on board, and had done much damage in the West Indies, at St. Kitt's, Montserrat, and Nevis. In vain were they pursued by Admiral Cochrane; their ruin, however, was, at length, accomplished by the fury of the elements; a tremendous gale having separated them, the French Admiral's ship with great difficulty made the Havannah. The Impeteux ran for the coast of North America, and was followed into the Bay of Chesapeake, by the Bellise and the Bellona, where she run ashore, and was burnt by the Melampus: the two remaining vessels were, afterwards, destroyed by the English on the same coast, and the Castor was supposed to have foundered at sea: while Prince Jerome, whose arrival in a British port was anticipated even with con-

fidence and rapture, had the usual fortune of his family, in arriving, in the Veteran, at Port L'Orient, in the month of August.

The next subject of good fortune was, the intelligence received of the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, by Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham: however, this was, in some measure, checked by the ultimate failure of the expedition against Buenos Ayres. At sea, nothing further offered this year. But, though no sword was yet drawn upon any part of the German continent, the enemies of France were not inactive: what they could not effect by *force* they now endeavoured to encompass by *fraud:* they chose the press for their engine; and they found booksellers, whose weakness, or whose avarice, induced them to become their agents. Several persons of this description, residing in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, were apprehended by French troops, and carried to the fortress of Brannau. Among these, the case of Mr. John Palm was peculiar: he resided at Nuremberg, and was the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled, "Germany in the lowest State of Degradation." At Brannau he was tried by a court martial, and found guilty of publishing a libel against the French Emperor, tending to mislead the people of the South of Germany; this tribunal adjudged him to be shot in twenty-four hours! a sentence absolutely carried into execution. He had a family, for whom a subscription was raised, in this and other countries; and which, if faithfully applied, would, probably, go very far towards alleviating the loss of a parent and a husband.

But, it has been observed, "that the new ministry had formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France;" as a project, formed for assassinating the French Emperor, was communicated, by a foreigner, to Mr. Fox; he immediately transmitted to M. Talleyrand a statement of the circum-

stances, with some detail of his feelings on the occasion; observing, that as an honest man, he thought himself bound to make this communication to the French Government; adding, that he would not send away the prisoner till time had been allowed for precaution against his attempts, and then to send him to some part of the continent as remote as possible from France. In a respectful reply to this Letter, by M. Talleyrand, is introduced, inofficially, an extract from the Emperor's Speech to the Legislative Body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate for it without a moment's delay, agreeably to the Treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox, on the 26th of February, in a Letter to M. Talleyrand, states, that he had laid before the King, that part of his private Letter, relating to the pacific wishes of the French Government; and he expressed the ardent disposition of the British Cabinet, to smooth the obstacles in the way to peace, a basis for which would be best formed by the reciprocal acknowledgment of the two Nations, that the peace should be honourable, both for them and their Allies, and calculated to secure the future repose of Europe. But such was the connexion between England and Russia, that the British could not, or would not, conclude any treaty without consulting the Emperor Alexander.

After his Majesty's name had been thus introduced into the discussion, by Mr. Fox, the intercourse began to assume an official aspect. M. Talleyrand was authorized, by his Sovereign, to declare that France wished for nothing that England was in possession of, and was only desirous of repose, and the unobstructed exercise of her industry: that the Emperor adopted the general principle laid down by Mr. Fox, that the peace should be honourable for the two Courts, and their respective Allies; that while he was ready to make every concession which the naval preponderance of England could justly claim, he reasonably expected in return, proposals con-

formably to the honour of his crown, and the commercial rights of his dominions. But he conceived, that two enlightened and neighbouring Nations, would not do justice to their own dignity and wisdom, in calling for the intervention of a foreign and distant power in the discussion of the great interests by which they were divided.

Shortly after this, Lord Yarmouth, one of the gentlemen detained in France, at the commencement of the war, went from Verdun to Paris, at the request of the French Government, and was invested with powers as a diplomatic agent. In his first conversation with M. Talleyrand, the French minister specifically explained to him the reasons for not admitting Russia to negotiate in concert; soon after which his Lordship suggested that a medium might, probably, be discovered, by which this difficulty might be obviated. To this the French minister replied, that willing to give every facility for arranging the respective interests of the two powers, the British minister might be authorised by the Emperor Alexander, to stipulate also for him. What France meant by wanting nothing of Great Britain, it soon appeared, from the documents, was her willingness to agree to the *uti possedetis*, or, what each party possessed, with exchange, upon the ground of equivalents. Hanover being seized without due regard to the rights of war, Mr. Fox made it a point of honour to procure an agreement for its restoration, and this as a prelude to all negotiation; and it was even conceded to Lord Yarmouth, in his second interview, that, in consequence of the stress laid upon this object, by the British minister, Hanover should make no difficulty. In the same conference, the question relating to Sicily, was also proposed by Lord Yarmouth, to which M. Talleyrand replied, you have it, and we do not demand it from you.

But, while the negotiation was thought to be going on successfully, the arrival of M. D'Oubril at Paris, with full powers to treat for a separate peace, which being very

soon concluded, Lord Lauderdale was appointed in conjunction with Lord Yarmouth. The French represented this Russian treaty, as being of as much importance to them as a signal victory, and as entitling France to terms more advantageous than otherwise. However, as the Emperor Napoleon had committed himself upon certain points, they confessed they would remain untouched, Hanover would be ceded, Malta confirmed in full sovereignty to England, as likewise the Cape, with an express desire that the Port, at least part of it, should be made free to all nations. At length, after various modifications of condition, &c. the English Court had the pleasure of learning that the Court of Russia had refused to ratify the peace negotiated by M. D'Oubril with the French Government. The English negotiators immediately changed their language, declaring, they could only treat provisionally; and, therefore, that any pacification between France and England, must be agreed not to have any effect till peace took place also between France and Russia. But it cannot be doubted, that the hopes of a new war, indulged on the part of England, were at the bottom of these objections; and the peculiar circumstances in which Prussia was placed at the time, favoured these hopes to such a degree, as to render the prospect of another war too precious an acquisition to be placed, even for a moment, in competition with the doubtful issue of peace. Of course, upon the ninth of August, a Note was presented by the English negotiator at Paris, in which he stated, that the pretensions of the French Government advanced in their last communication, being so incompatible with the basis formerly proposed by them, the English plenipotentiaries, Lords Yarmouth and Lauderdale, had no other alternative left than to return to their own country, for which end they requested the necessary passports. However, still another month had nearly revolved, before these were obtained, and the ambassadors were in readiness to return. This rupture

of the negotiation, which, at other times, would have been considered as the most afflicting, was hailed at our Stock Exchange, with the rudest and most savage demonstrations of joy. The shoutings of these humane speculators were not confined to the vicinity of their own money market, but, by the influence of themselves and their friends, the drivers of the stage-coaches were, on the same evening, sent into the country with bunches of ribbands in their hats, with the words, "No Peace," in gilt letters! However, after the return of Lord Yarmouth to England, upon some altercation in the House, he positively declared, that during the negotiation in which he was employed, "we might have made a safe and honourable peace with the French Emperor."

But to return to Prussia; it was soon understood by her, from the conferences at Paris, on the subject of peace, that the French Government made no scruple of giving up Hanover! This country had so long been the most favourable object of Prussian ambition, that the thoughts of parting with it irritated the King of Prussia beyond measure. In the late possession of that Electorate, permitted by the French, Prussia found she was to be made a mere dupe. She was offered, as it was observed, "Some frivolous substitute, so minute, however, as to excite the overwhelming conviction that she had been treacherous for trifles, instead of any solid acquisitions, and had gained scarcely any thing but the ruin of her honour." The bait she had swallowed with all the voracity of unprincipled ambition, was now to be plucked from her vitals, amidst the tortures of regret and mortification. The Cabinet of France, which had tempted her degradation, seemed now to despise her baseness—to defy her power—laugh at her folly, and even exult in the exposure of her infamy. But this was not the only source of her disappointment; the Federation of the Rhine, formed by Napoleon, among the German princes, subdued to his yoke and interest, had destroyed all the hopes

formerly entertained by Prussia, of gaining a supremacy in the Empire, similar to that heretofore exercised by the House of Austria; and though France had winked at the secondary idea of a similar confederacy in the North of Germany, over which Prussia should preside; Prussia saw now that this was only a golden dream which would never be realized. The French troops were even continued in Germany, in the neighbourhood of Hesse, and, of course, were watched with no small jealousy by the King of Prussia, who had not failed to express his uneasiness at this circumstance, through his minister at Paris.—In fact, before Lord Lauderdale quitted the French capital, the diplomatic altercation between Prussia and France, had proceeeded so far as not to leave the least chance of friendly accommodation. The tone of the Prussian Court, even then supposed to be buoyed up from some other quarter, was that of firmness; the Prussian troops were animated with high enthusiasm, in expectation of those hostilities which it was thought the honour of the Prussian nation had long since required.

The zeal of the people was also in unison with the army: several towns and provinces proposed to raise and maintain regiments. The students of Halle, wished for leave to form themselves into a regiment of hussars. The King of Sweden again took courage at these appearances, and dispatched a conciliatory Letter, written in his own hand, to the Prussian monarch. The Prussian vessels detained in English ports were speedily liberated, to cherish the spirit of hostility against the French. Lord Morpeth was dispatched to the Court of Berlin with advantageous proposals; and, in idea, our sanguinary expectations already saw the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, all brought to bear upon the astonished and dismayed legions of France. How the hopes thus raised to the highest pitch, were, ultimately, precipitated into the lowest class of despondency, in consequence of the commencement of actual hostilities, it will be our province to describe in

the succeeding chapters. It will be only necessary to add here, that the French Emperor quitted his capital on the 24th of September to join the armies; but that being asked from the British minister, whether any thing could yet prevent his hostilities against Prussia, he replied only one thing; that is to say, that if England would agree to the first terms proposed by her plenipotentiaries, he would immediately order his troops to halt.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Prussian Declaration, &c....Its Answer by the French Government....Movements of the French and Prussian Troops....Letter of the King of Prussia to Napoleon.... His Remarks....Defeat of the Prussians at Schleitz, and Saalfeldt....The Prussian Army turned....Important Victory of Jena.

BUT, though as we have mentioned before, Napoleon had set out to march against the Prussians, discussions were still continued so late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were at the head-quarters of their respective troops, and when a dispatch was delivered from the Prussian out-posts, to those of the French army, which communication still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment; however, a few days after, namely, on the 9th, a Declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian Court. It is, indeed, though extremely long, a most extraordinary Document; but, as it was very soon answered in the *Moniteur*, and as this Answer embraces the general heads of the Prussian State Paper, it may, in some measure, be looked upon as containing the two documents in one. This, however, was penned a few days after the great battle of Jena.

ANSWER

To the KING of PRUSSIA'S MANIFESTO.

Paris, November. 24.

"The King of Prussia, upon suddenly taking up arms against France, thought it incumbent on him to retrace to all Europe, the facts which made it his duty to do so."

'His Majesty has acted very wisely; for all Europe was ignorant of the grievances of Prussia.'

"His Majesty sets out by declaring, that French policy had, for fifteen years, been the scourge of humanity."

"By going so far back for the motives of his discontent, his Majesty the King of Prussia gives France a right to remind him how he was the first to abandon the cause of Kings in 1792, with what dignity the defenders of the throne were treated in his own camp—and how his defection was the first sanction of so dangerous a change.

"Certainly, when neither the punishment of Lewis XVI. nor the expulsion of the Stadtholder, a relation of his Prussian Majesty, nor the invasion of Holland, which Prussia looked upon as a family property, nor other conquests, nor, in fine, the progress of a system which menaced all monarchies, were able to shake the friendship that Prussia then bore to France, when her ambassador, preceding all others, was seen to sit at those civic banquets in which the destruction of Kings was sworn, the affection of Prussia might be thought proof against every thing. If so many motives could not alter, for an instant, her connexions with France, the grievances which now drive her into a more dangerous war, must, also, be of a more serious nature, and connected with more important considerations. The King of Prussia has just enabled Europe to judge of them.

"People will be astonished to see, that in a Paper which should treat only of the relations, or respective interests of France and Prussia, the Cabinet of Berlin should lay a stress only upon grievances which are foreign to it, and should consider as personal injuries, aggrandisements made over powers whom it might have more efficaciously succoured if it had thought them unjust. Now, that the disputes between France and Austria are regulated; now that the fate of Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, is fixed, the recriminations of Prussia are as wanton as they are useless.

"France at first wished only for peace—but her safety required that she should make allies of countries which she might keep as conquests. Her enemies still conspiring against her, forced her to assume new advantages.

"The King of Prussia has seen the efforts which were unceasingly renewed against her—he has often acknowledged the legitimacy of the means which she took for her defence. Having had in view only the availing himself of the weakening of the Belligerent parties, of selling his inaction, it ill-becomes him to complain, at this day, of the effects of a system which he encouraged. The wars of the Three Coalitions were foreign to him; he has no right to revive their grievances.

"If the policy of France has been a scourge to Europe, Europe may accuse him of having been the accomplice of it; his declarations and his regrets, were they well founded, would leave him only the shame of having seen the good cause, and the cowardice of having betrayed it.

"However, at the period in question (November, 1805,) Prussia wished to act the part of mediatrix of Europe—she pretended to be the rampart of the powers of the North. To hear the complaints she alledges at this day, it would seem that she was more offended than the others. A Coalition was formed in the midst of peace, Prussia figured in the discussion of the interests, but did not appear in the field of battle. It was announced every moment. At London, the opposition cried out, that Austria and Russia could do nothing useful without the co-operation of Prussia, and the ministers gave more than hopes; at Vienna and St. Petersburgh, they gave positive assurances of it; at Berlin, the very affecting interview of the Emperor Alexander, and the King, left no doubt of a speedy co-operation; but, whilst the Prussian Cabinet was bargaining, the war began by thunder-claps, and the fate of Austria was already decided under the walls of Ulm.

"It was then that a French division passed rapidly,

over the the territory of Anspach, with the most friendly character, and without leaving the least traces of violence, from the sole necessity of executing movements, upon which the safety of the army depended.

"Never did any passage, executed with that tranquillity, excite any thing more than explanations between friendly powers. Austria and Prussia have often given the example of it. Austria had frequently marched troops across the neutral territory of Bavaria, to send them into the Tyrol and Italy. What gave the last invasion of Bavaria a decided character of violence and hostility, was, that it was followed by contributions, by forced incorporations of the Bavarian army, &c.; but nothing of the kind had taken place upon the territory of Anspach.

"However, Prussia, who pretends to have so many other grievances to set forth, looks on this as a gross affront, a decisive reason. His Prussian Majesty appears determined to plunge his whole nation into the horrors of war, because a small corner of a territory, far removed from her states, was trodden by the horses of the French army: and he then 'declares to France that all his engagements with her are dissolved. He makes his army take an attitude suitable to circumstances.'

"It may be readily seen why the King of Prussia suddenly becomes so ticklish upon his neutrality; till then he had been secretly pleased at the losses of a paramount, whom he chose to look upon as a rival power; he had sincerely laboured for the humiliation of Austria. But now he trembled at the ascendant which fifteen years of unjust wars and glorious victories, had given the French power. Yet, who would think that, in the midst of the exaggerations of his anger, and notwithstanding the conviction which the Cabinet of Berlin had of its importance, its usual policy could have got the better of that injustice which it thought it could not wash away but in rivers of French blood? At the moment when it was thought he

was marching to the field of battle, he offers, says the Manifesto, to the coalesced to be the organ of peace. But from the habit of a constant contradiction between what he does, and what he declares, he secretly subscribes, on the 3rd November, an engagement to unite his forces to those of the Russians and Austrians.

"This engagement was certainly a great political error; but there are circumstances in which even errors themselves announce courage, and in which, like certain reverses, they are not without honour. No doubt, had this engagement been faithfully performed, had Prussia immediately marched her army forward, France might have complained of so great a lightness in her engagements, of so quick and unfounded an irritation, and of so sudden a change; but at least it was a frank war, and courage would have decided it. However, the King of Prussia was circumspect. The dangers which he still saw in the execution of his vengeance, moderated his impatience. The grand victorious army marched against Vienna, but another French army then menaced Franconia, and whatever weight Prussia may wish to attach to the resolution which she might have taken, the fate of France did not, at that time, depend on her policy.

"Thus, her usual prudence got the better. There again appeared, this time, in the midst of the Belligerent powers only an ambassador instead of an army; and this ambassador, the witness of a decisive victory, arrived there only to sign an alliance, and witness the Treaty of Presburgh.

"Hitherto Prussia had nothing personal to alledge against France, but the passage over the territory of Anspach. She made herself, in words, the champion of those who asked of her actions; she presented herself upon the stage when there were not more actors; she wished to effect an overawing part; but she met with the mortification of being disavowed by all the powers in a part which did not suit her. It ill became her, indeed,

to attempt to dictate laws when she would not fight, and to plead for those whom she refused to defend.

"After this wavering conduct, she, however, reaped great advantage from a quarrel into which she had not entered, and from a peace decided only by victory. She offered and exchanged three small provinces of her dominions against a permission to take Hanover, long since the object of her desires, and which lay so convenient to her hand. She dares not avow it at this day; she passes lightly, as over live cinders, over this concession which she wished for and solicited, and upon which France never stipulated any thing further than a *laisser faire* (let her do it.) However, Prussia directly got the country administered in her name; she every where set up her arms; she raised taxes, and exercised all the privileges of sovereignty. By this fact alone, she was at war with England, as by her pretensions upon Swedish Pomerania, she had armed against Sweden. From the friend of France, Prussia was become her Ally, and had promised to support her interests. She was to begin by shutting her ports against the eternal enemies of France. But at the moment when every thing commanded her to have at length a frank and a decisive policy, Prussia assumed, to the great astonishment of Europe, a still more equivocal and hypocritical attitude. Her ports were blockaded, armies were drawn up in the presence of each other, and did not yet know whether they were at war.

"After exercising, for several months, the rights of sovereignty in Hanover, the King of Prussia began to testify to the King of England that he regretted his being forced to keep his patrimony. At present he seems to wish only for a temporary possession, and we shall soon see that the most violent of his grievances is, that England proposed peace to France upon the basis of this very restitution which the King of Prussia appears so much to desire. Never was any enigma more difficult to be resolved.

"The Cabinet of Berlin complains that the Treaty of Presburg, was entered into in favour of France.—This, indeed, is a very strange reproach! Is not the usual effect of victory to secure advantages to the conqueror? Was France, upon coming out of a struggle in which her ruin had been conspired, to leave her enemies the means of renewing the same plots, and bringing back the same calamities?

"However, these enemies recovered almost all they had lost. France contented herself with what was requisite to guarantee her glory and their tranquillity, whereas the leagued Kings shared among themselves her spoils even before they took the field.—The measures then taken by the Emperor Napoleon, had for their object only a solid peace, and even an honourable one to the vanquished. Other conquerors keep their conquests; he made the ascendant of his arms serve only for the good of his Allies, and the safety of other potentates. The Treaty of Presburg contained the elements of a political organization, more analogous to the interests of the respective States of Germany. Their free will laid the basis of it. The arrangements made subsequent to the Treaty of Presburg, were only combinations judged necessary to secure their execution, and as it were, the fruits of the wishes and meditations of a great part of Germany; these arrangements required a degree of legitimacy and solemnity, still greater than if they had been only snatched by victory. The Electors detached themselves from the Germanic Body, and the Emperor of Austria had a right to abdicate a title which, for half a century past, has been only a source of contrarieties and occasion of wars for his House. This affair was quite foreign to Prussia, who had often given the example of defection, and of a permanent rebellion against her paramount head.—Nothing can be more pleasant than to hear the King of Prussia so kindly pitying the destruction of a dignity which he so long laboured to render a mere mockery, the prerogatives

of which he continually opposed, and the humiliations and disasters of which he had secretly encouraged. Austria may yet answer the late homilies of this insulting pity, with, 'You should have come to the field of Austerlitz!'

"If the Envoy of Prussia was admitted to the negotiations which followed that battle, it will, doubtless, not be supposed, notwithstanding the bravado of the Manifesto, that it was from the terror she inspired. The French army was ready to return to France by the way of Berlin. But France then thought to lay the foundation of a lasting peace, and she wished to reconcile the interest of Prussia. The full and entire execution of the treaty was to be followed by the evacuation of Germany by the Prussian army, the Emperor of the French had a right to expect it. However, the King of Prussia looks upon the forced stay of the French troops as a grievance; but he dissembles—'the King determined to continue the part he had hitherto acted, for some time longer. He wished to preserve his force, now more than ever necessary to Europe.'

"Thus the Treaty of Presburg was no sooner, signed than they foresaw the period when they were to re-kindle the war: they waited only for a favourable moment; they wished to catch the lion asleep: thus, France could only rely on herself; they justified, beforehand, every thing they would have done for her security. However, nothing of all that she might have done did she do. The protection which she, a year after, had given to the Confederacy of the Rhine, was a sacrifice on the common safety. This pact, freely consented to, did not concern Prussia: it took nothing from her; it encroached neither upon her rights nor upon her territory, which she found to be increased without her having drawn her sword. The necessary grievances which she sets forth beside the great interest of Europe, are trifles which betray the weakness of her reasons. The pecuniary indemnity which

she solicited for the Prince of Orange, was only private negotiation; the loss of the three Abbeys might have been compensated; the union of Wesel to the French Empire, was a free cession in which Prussia had no right to meddle. Besides, she had just complained, that the confederate Princes were only vassals of France; in her reasoning, the union of Wesel made no alteration in the state of things.

"Moreover, his Majesty the King of Prussia passes so lightly over those grievances, that they are not deserving of a serious refutation. He expatiates more at large upon the restitution of Hanover, and upon the obstacles thrown in the way of a Confederacy of the North. He feels the futility of the rest: he willingly abandons all foreign interest; but these two grievances are insupportable. We are drawing near the moment which determined his Majesty.

"We have already seen the King of Prussia, after taking possession of Hanover as its Sovereign, measuring back his steps, and looking upon it only as a temporary property. He now got himself intreated to keep it definitively: he wished to have the air of paying homage with it to the Cabinet of St. James's, with which he was already engaged in the negotiation. Upon this well known disposition, the Cabinet of St. Cloud might have made the same overture. It was still but a simple proposition, a matter to be discussed; the only question was to find a compensation. Hitherto, nothing wounded the honour of Prussia. She had shewn, or, to speak more truly, affected so much repugnance to a definitive possession, that one must have thought it rendering her a great service to disembarrass her of this temporary load.

"Again, nothing can be more strange than to see alledged as the principal motive of a war, evidently excited by England, a restitution which one wished to make to his Britannic Majesty. Supposing that the King of,

Prussia hoped to hold this province from the generosity of its former possessors, this would serve to prove what sacrifices the English Government is capable of making, when it is in contemplation to spread conflagration throughout the continent.

"As to the project of the Confederacy of the North, it so much flattered the pride of the King of Prussia, that it for a long time concealed from him the danger of the Confederacy of the Rhine. Upon viewing the sovereign protection which he wished to exercise over his equals as a new dignity, one might wonder at the pride of this pretension, and ask by what exploits it had been inspired, upon what rights it was founded? The Rhinish Confederacy had appeared necessary to put an end to the intestine dissentions, of which Germany had been the theatre for nearly two centuries; to regulate interests till then irreconcileable; and to put the princes who compose it under the protection to which they had always been forced to recur. But Prussia had nothing plausible to alledge for extending her influence over independent states; they were not menaced; she had never drawn her sword for their defence; her domination was not necessary to their safety. If her aim was to oppose a rival Confederacy to that of the Rhine, it was preparing eternal wars, and removing Europe from the pacific end which had been the object of the one formed under the protection of the French Empire.

"The Hanse Towns, which have so long been the envy of Prussia, are indebted to France for their independence. They are the emporiums of the trade of Europe; but until trade become the common property of all nations, it is important that it be under the protection and immediate observation of the power charged to destroy commercial despotism.

"Such, then, were the real grievances of Prussia.—Her claims were so long veiled under friendly forms, that the

Emperor Napoleon must have mistaken them. But at length the *menagement* she affected towards the Cabinet of St. James's, the negotiations which she resumed with Russia, the secret intrigues which were actively carried on among the courtiers of both sexes, sold to the interests of England, the putting the Prussian army upon an extraordinary footing of war; and, above all, the obstinacy with which the King of Prussia insisted upon the evacuation of Germany before the complete execution of the Treaty of Presburg—all this served to open the eyes of France.

"The Emperor of the French resolved on vanquishing, before he answered the Manifesto of the King of Prussia. But, now, France may ask Prussia, which of the two nations has had most reason to be satisfied with the other? Which has been ambitious, false, and perfidious? Which has had exaggerated pretensions, and has excited unjust wars? France had figured for a thousand years amongst the first powers of the world, when the Margraves of Brandenburgh were not yet in the rank of crowned heads. The Prussian monarchy, raised so suddenly, and by such equivocal acquisitions at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was in want of the protection of France, and made effectual use of it in its pretensions against the Emperor of Germany. However, scarcely was it able to exist by itself, when it thought of undermining, perhaps, even of destroying, the power who had defended it. The French Revolution broke out; Prussia was the first to sound the alarm, to call the Kings to the Congress of Pilnitz, and to sign the Treaty by which France was to be shared among them! But as soon as she saw that the division of this nation was more difficult to be realised than that of Poland, she abandoned the project as quickly as she had conceived it, and since that time, she has never ceased protesting the most solid friendship towards her, whose ruin she had sworn. It was always the same system.—Prussia, aggrandized by acquisitions, wrested by the timely importance which she knew how to give herself, thought that Ger-

many and France were going to make war for her benefit; and the first campaigns proved, in reality, the justice of her conjectures. But, at length her dark policy tired out the other powers, and as soon as she attempted to quit her neutrality, she lost all her advantages. She thought she might easily triumph over France: she already disposed of the fruits of her victories; she subdued Saxony, led Hesse to deceive French generosity, and formed an immense empire, usurped without having fought.—What now remains to her of so many presumptions, projects and treasons? Seven days of a fresh war have overturned the work of a hundred years of artful policy.

"Far be it from us, to wish to make the errors or crimes of Cabinets fall upon their nations. Most of those who have brougnt so many calamities upon Prussia, have atoned for the errors of their life by an honorable death. Their courage was deserving of a juster cause. They have set a fine example, and their soldiers have not yielded, without glory, to French valour; but the morality of that Cabinet was a scandal and a scourge to all Europe; and others, as well as the Conqueror, may congratulate themselves on its downfall. It is time that the relations of sovereigns should take a more noble and loyal turn? France wishes to give a long peace to the continent; the dangers which she has met with in her way, have not stopped her: the enemies she has remaining, can no longer frighten her."

Moderation in this Answer, must certainly be admitted on the part of France, who, so far from reasoning upon a passage extremely weak and vulnerable on the part of Prussia, does not even mention it. This, an English journal observed, "very ill became a mighty kingdom to admit, and even to boast, that it had been led on from humiliation to humiliation, till it approached the ultimate point of political degradation!"

Of the readiness of the French troops to commence the conflict, nothing need to be said; and so confident

was Prussia of her own strength, that, to the very commencement of hostilities, she seemed quite indifferent as to assistance from other powers. In fact, the fatal confidence did not escape one of our own political writers, *On the Defence of the Country.* That able writer, who, more than indicates an ominous resemblance between our mercantile Capital, and that Great City, described in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelations, also asked the question: Are we proudly confident in our military prowess? So he replies, were the renowned battalions of Frederick, the present King of Prussia. The Prussians marched from Berlin against Buonaparté, as to a certain triumph. "Intelligent English gentlemen," he says, "who were there at the moment, declare, that the general confidence was extreme; that it was impossible to make the most rational Prussians, with whom they conversed, admit a doubt of the victorious armies of France being defeated by Prussian tactics; and that to suggest any uneasiness on the subject, was regarded as preposterous, at least, if not insulting." But to proceed, the French army, assembled in Franconia, &c. had advanced in three divisions; the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney, and Soult, with a division of Bavarians, proceeded by way of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in their advance upon Hoff; the centre was composed of the reserve, under the Grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince of Ponte Corvo, and Marshal Davoust, and the imperial guards marched by Bamburg towards Cronach, and by way of Saalberg and Schleitz, to Gera: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, marched towards Coburg and Saalfeldt. On the other hand, the Prussian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left under Prince Hohenloe, had taken a very strong position along the North of Francfort on the Main. The campaign opened with the affair of Schleitz, which ended in a defeat on the part of the Prussians, with the loss of

several hundred men, 500 baggage waggons, &c. On the 10th, the left wing of the French was equally successful.

It was justly observed on this side of the water, that, in the first affair between Marshal Soult, and the Prussian Prince Hohenloe, near Schleitz, from which place he acknowledged he was compelled to recede, for the purpose of concentrating his force with the rest of the Prussian army, that a retreat of above sixty miles, which left the whole of Saxony open as far as Dresden and Leipsick, was but an unlucky commencement of the war. Still here, as usual, we had counter-reports, sanctioned by eminent ministers, eminent merchants, and eminent stock-jobbers. All these continued in circulation, with more or less credit, till the beginning of November, when the arrival of the French Bulletins put an end to the illusion. The first of these stated a number of particulars relative to the negotiation with which the Prussian General Knobelsdorf was entrusted at Paris, in which numerous recriminations were made. It stated that the Emperor Napoleon was convinced of the necessity of taking up arms against Prussia, having learned that troops were marching with the greatest rapidity from Berlin, that they advanced to the frontiers of the Confederation, and insulted their out-posts; that on the 6th of October, the Emperor arrived at Bamberg. The same day, two shots were fired by the Prussian hussars at a French field-officer, in view of the armies.

On the 7th, the Emperor Napoleon received a courier from Mentz, sent by the Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand,) with two important Dispatches, one was a Letter from the King of Prussia, containing twenty pages, which, in fact, was nothing but a paltry pamphlet against France, such, "says the Bulletin," "as those produced by the writers of the English Cabinet at five hundred pounds *per annum!*" The Emperor, before he finished the reading, turned to those about him, and said, "I pity my brother the King of Prussia, he understands not French! Surely he cannot have read this rhapsody?" This Letter

was accompanied by the celebrated Note of M. de Knobelsdorf. "Marshal," said the Emperor to Berthier, "they give us a rendezvous of honour for the 8th. A Frenchman, we know, never refuses a challenge of this description; but, as they say, a handsome Queen is there, who desires to see battles, let us be polite, and march without delay for Saxony." The Emperor was correctly informed; for the Queen of Prussia was with the army, equipped like an Amazon, wearing the uniform of her regiment of dragoons, and writing twenty letters a day to all parts of the kingdom. "It appears," says the Bulletin, "like the conduct of the frenzied Armida in Tasso, setting fire to her own palace. Next to her Majesty, Prince Louis of Prussia, brave young man, incited by the war faction, vainly hopes to gain honour and renown in the vicissitudes of war. Following the example of these two great personages, all the adherents of the Court seemes eager for war; but, when war shall present itself in all its horrors, the feelings and the language of all these will be widely different; they will then be desirous of vindicating themselves from the charge of having drawn down the thunders of war upon the peaceable provinces of the North; then, by a natural consequence, will be seen, those very persons, now so clamorous for war, not only eager to exculpate themselves, but, incensed at the results of their own conduct, they will attempt to throw the odium of the measure upon the King, who was merely the dupe of their own intrigues and artifice."

The second Bulletin informed us, that the Emperor set out from Bamberg on the 8th of October, at three o'clock in the morning. On the 9th, he was at Schleitz, and present at the first action of the campaign. At this place Murat, the Grand Duke of Berg, dislodged and routed a Prussian general there, posted with 10,000 men; a number of the enemy were killed and made prisoners, with very little loss on the part of the French. The Prussian infantry, it was said, threw down their arms, and fled, trem-

bling, from the French bayonets. Coburg was also taken by the left of the French force; 1,000 prisoners made, 600 left dead on the field, and 30 pieces of cannon also taken.

Prince Louis of Prussia, whom the Bulletin calls a brave and loyal soldier, then seeing the rout of his corps, opposed himself, singly, to a marshal De Logis, of the 10th, hussars—"Surrender, Colonel," said the hussar, "or you ara dead man." The Prince answered by a blow with sabre; his antagonist ran him through the body, on which the Prince instantly fell dead. If the last days of his life were those of a bad citizen, his death was glorious, though to be regretted. His end was such as he desired—that of a good soldier. Two of his *aide de-camps* were killed near him. On his person some letters were found, by which the project of the enemy had been to commence operations immediately; and that the war faction, at the head of which were the Queen and the young Prince, had always feared the pacific intentions of the King, whose love for his subjects they thought would induce him to temporize. It may now be said, the very out-set of war has destroyed one of its authors. It was added, neither Dresden nor Berlin, are covered by an army. Turned of its left, taken, indeed, at the moment when it committed itself to the most hazardous operations, the Prussian army at the very out-set, is placed in the most central situation.

The third Bulletin mentions, that the battle of Schleitz, so fatal to the Prussians, and that of Saalfeldt, which followed next day, had spread consternation among the enemy. The King, the Queen, and the Duke of Brunswick, were at Erfurt, deliberating what would be done, while the French army continued its march. On the evening of the 12th the French scouts were at Leipsic. The enemy cut off at Dresden, was still at Erfurt on the 11th; the Weser, and the Saal, upon which they had erected batteries, were both turned. "We," the Bulletin observed,

" make marches often leagues a day without having a single straggler. However, the King of Prussia's intentions has been realized. He wished the French army to evacuate the territory of the Confederation on the 8th of October; and they have evacuated it, but instead of repassing the Rhine, they have passed the Saal."

The fourth Bulletin commenced by observing, " that events succeed each other rapidly. The Prussian army is taken by surprise, its magazines carried off, and it is turned. The Prussian army is marching against Nagdeburgh, but the French army has gained three marches upon them. The anniversary of the affair of Ulm, will be celebrated in the history of France."

It seemed, also, from a letter found upon a Prussian officer, " that a battle was expected in the course of a few days, the result of which would determine the fate of the war." What was added in the Bulletin, was actually justified in the event, viz.; that the French ought to have no uneasiness as to the result of such a battle. It proved not less true, that this battle should form another epoch as honourable to the French, as that of Ulm had been the year before against the Austrians; in fact, the victory of Jena surpassed the former by much. It more than wiped away the disgrace of the battle of Rosbach, which was fought between the French and Russians during the reign of Louis XV. But, as it is imposible to do justice to the description of the battle of Jena, without borrowing from the fifth Bulletin of the French army; it here follows, leaving the reader to make his own reflections.

Jena, October 15.

" The Battle of Jena has wiped away the disgrace of the Battle of Rosbach, and, in seven days, concluded a campaign, which has wholly quieted all the dreadful preparations for war, with which the Prussian heads were so much possessed. The King of Prussia wished to commence hostilities on the 9th of October, by bearing down

his right wing on Francfort, with his center on Wurtzburgh, and his left wing on Bamberg. All the divisions of the army were disposed for the accomplishment of this plan; but the French army turning him upon the extremity of his left wing, it was found, in a few days, at Saalberg, at Lobenstein, at Schleitz, at Gera, and at Naumburg! The Prussian army seeing itself turned, occupied the days of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, in calling in their detachments; and on the 13th, formed itself into order of battle between Capelsdorf, being about 150,000 men strong.

"On the 13th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor came to Jena, and, on a small elevated flat, beset by our advanced guard, reconnoitred the positions of the enemy, in order to manœuvre in such a way, as next day to force the different passes on the Saal, and so to fall on. The enemy made a vigorous opposition, and seemed, by their dispositions, on an inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar, to think that the French could not stretch out upon the plain without previously forcing that passage. It did not appear possible, in fact, to bring the artillery to play upon the flat, which was so small, that four battalions could scarcely open out their ranks upon it.

"The men were set at work the whole night to make a way over the ruts, and, at length, succeeded in bringing the artillery upon the height.

"Marshal Davoust received orders to defend the passes near Naumburg, and the defiles of Koefen, as the enemy wanted to march upon Naumburg, in order to reach Apolda, and fall upon his rear, in case he remained in the situation he then was.

"The corps of Marshal Prince Ponte Corvo, was destined to stretch out by Naumburg, in order to fall upon the rear guard of the enemy, in case he bent strongly toward Naumburg or Jena.

"The heavy cavalry, which had not yet come up with the army, could not be entirely brought on by mid-day. The cavalry of the imperial guard was at the distance of thirty-six hours march, notwithstanding the heavy journey which it had performed since it left Paris; but it was come to that moment of the war, when no single consideration should outweigh, to deprive them of the advantage of being the first to meet and fall upon the enemy.

"The Emperor placed the whole corps of Marshal Lannes in order of battle upon the level height, which the enemy seemed to overlook—(they occupied a position over against it.)—This corps was placed under the care of General Victor; each division formed a wing. Marshal Lefevre ordered the imperial guard into a square battalion upon the highest point. The Emperor kept the watch in the midst of his brave men. The night presented a remarkable spectacle: two armies, the one of which extended its front upon a line of six hours march, fired the air with its lights; the other, the lights of which seemed to be brought into one small point; and in the one as well as in the other, all watchfulness and motion. The lights of the two armies were at half cannon shot distance respectively; the sentinels were almost touching, and there was not a single motion, on either side, which could not be heard from the other.

"The divisions of Marshals Ney and Soult, took up the whole night in marching. At break of day the whole army was under arms. Suchet's division formed the right, the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height. Each of these corps had their artillery in the little spaces between.

"From the town and the neighbouring valleys, the passes had been discovered, by which the troops which could not be placed upon the level height might extend themselves in the easiest manner; and this is, surely, the first occasion when an army had to defile through so small a pass.

"A thick fog obscured the day. The Emperor passed before the different lines; he commanded his soldiers to take care of the Prussian cavalry which had been described so extraordinary; he bade them remember that a year was not elapsed since Ulm was taken; that the Prussian army, like the Austrian then, was surrounded, had been driven from their line of operations, and lost their magazines; that they, at the present moment, no longer fought for honour but for a retreat; but they alone fought to make themselves an opening upon different points, and that the corps of the army which should let them pass, would lose its honour and its glory.

"To these inspiring words the soldiers answered, with a loud cry of, 'Let us onward!'—The light troops began the action; they opened a very brisk fire. Good as was the position of the enemy, he was, nevertheless, driven out; and the French army marched out in the plain, and began to arrange itself in battle.

"The enemy's army, which, on their side had no other view than to fall on whenever the fog should have cleared up, took up their arms. An army of 50,000 men from the left wing, posted itself to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to get possession of the passes of Koefen; but this was already forestalled by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one amounting to 80,000 men strong, placed themselves before the French army, which was opening out from the level height of Jena. The mist hung over both armies, lasting two hours; but at length was dissipated by the brightness of the sun. The two armies mutually beheld each other at the distance of less than cannon-shot; the left wing of the French army supporting itself against a village, and the woods was commanded by Marshal Augereau. The imperial guard shewed their fire upon the centre, which was maintained by Marshal Lannes; the right wing was drawn together out of the corps of Marshal Soult. Marshal Soult had

nothing but a small corps of 8,000 men, purely composed of troops which had arrived of his light corps.

"The enemy's army was numerous, and displayed a fine cavalry; their manœuvres were exactly and rapidly executed. The Emperor had requested to delay coming to an engagement for two hours, in order to watch the positions which the enemy should take after the action of the morning, and to give the necessary orders to the troops, especially the cavalry, which required the greatest care. But the impetuosity of the French was too ardent for him. Several battalions had begun to engage in the village of Hollstedt. He saw that the enemy was getting into motion to drive them out; he gave immediate orders to Marshal Lannes, to march with expedition to the support of the village. Marshal Soult had attacked a wood on the right. The enemy having made a movement with his right wing upon our left, Marshal Augereau was commanded to repulse them, and in less than an hour the action was general. Two hundred and fifty, or three hundred thousand men, with seven or eight hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most awful events ever witnessed on the theatre of history. On one side, as well as on the other, every manœuvre was performed as if it were on a parade.

"Among our troops, there was not for a moment the least disorder; the victory became ours in this moment. The Emperor had all along by him, besides his imperial guard, a large body of troops as a reserve to act in unforeseen events.

"Marshal Soult having got possession of the wood, which occupied him two hours, made a move forwards. At that instant, the Emperor gave orders that a division of French cavalry in reserve should begin to take post, and that the two new divisons from the army of Marshal Ney, should take station upon the field of battle by the

rear. All the troops of the reserve were advanced to the foremost line, which being thus strengthened, threw the enemy into disorder, and they instantly retired.

"They retrieved themselves for about an hour; but were cast into dreadful confusion, at the moment when our division of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the Grand Duke of Berg at their head, were able to take a part in the engagement. These brave cavaliers, aware that the fate of the battle, especially at the conclusion of the day, depended upon them, bore the Prussians down before them in great confusion, wherever they met them. The Prussian cavalry and infantry could not withstand the shock. In vain did they form themselves into a square; five of their battalions were put to the route—artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were surprised and taken. The French came at the same instant to Weimar as the enemy, who found themselves pursued for six hours.

"On our right wing, Marshal Davoust did wonders. Not merely did he maintain his ground, but he followed, fighting, for the space of three hours against the great body of the enemy's troops from the defiles of Koesen.

"The result of the battle is from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners of war, 300 pieces of cannon, immense magazines, and quantities of provision. Among the prisoners are more than twenty generals; among others several lieutenant-generals; one is Lieutenant-general Schmettau. The amount of the loss of the Prussian army is enormous; it is estimated at above 20,000 killed and wounded. Marshal Mollendorf is wounded; the Duke of Brunswick, and General Rachel are killed, and Prince Henry of Prussia is wounded desperately. According to the accounts of deserters, prisoners of war, and flags of truce, the disorder and confusion in the remainder of the enemy's army is at the utmost.

"On our side, we have only to lament the loss of Brigadier-general De Belli, a brave soldier: and the wound of Brigade-general Conroux. Among the killed, are Co-

lonels Verges, Lamotte, Barbenegre, Marigny, Dalembourg, Nicholas, Viala, and Higonet.

"The hussars and chasseurs displayed a valour on this day, which entitles them to the highest praise. The Prussian cavalry were never able to stand against them.

"Of the French infantry we shall say nothing. It is known, long since, as the best infantry in the world. The Emperor declares, that the French cavalry; after the experience of the two last campaigns, and last battle, has not its like.

"The Prussian army has lost every point of retreat in its line of operations. Its left wing, followed by Marshal Davoust, begins its retreat to Weimar, at the same time that its right wing and centre take their retreat from Weimar towards Naumburg. The confusion was, therefore, extraordinary. The King was forced to retreat across the field at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

"Our loss is 1,000 to 1,100 men killed, and 3,000 wounded. The Grand Duke of Berg is, at this moment, close up to Erfurt, where is a corps of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Mollendorf, and the Prince of Orange.

"The general staff is occupied in preparing an official relation, which shall make known, with every detail, all the different corps and regiments that have distinguished themselves; to entitle them to the esteem and acknowledgments of the nation: if any thing were wanting, they have testified it amply in the enthusiasm and love they have shewn for their Emperor in the the thickest of the fight.

"At one moment there was room for a doubt; every mouth at once was filled with the universal cry of 'Long live the Emperor!' a sentiment which ran through every heart in the midst of the battle. The Emperor seeing his wings threatened by the cavalry, set forward at full gallop to the spot to direct other manœuvres, and order a change of front.

"He was every moment annoyed with the shouts of 'Long live the Emperor!' The imperial foot-guards, enraged not to be allowed to press on while they saw every other corps was in motion, several voices among them cried out, 'Forward!'—'What is this?' said the Emperor. 'This can come from none other but some beardless boy that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon him to advise me.'

"In the heaviest of the fire, when the enemy had lost almost all his generals, it might be seen what Providence had done for us, which had spared our army. Not a man of distinction, on the side of the French, is injured or wounded. Marshal Lannes was grazed by a musket-bullet on the breast, but escaped unhurt. Marshal Davoust had his hat and clothes shot through in several places with small bullets. The Emperor was continually surrounded, wherever he appeared, by the Prince of Neufchatel, Marshal Bessieres, the Grand Master of the Horse, Caulincourt; his *aides-de-camp*, and equerry in waiting. A part of the army did not fire a single shot.

"Erfurt is taken; the Prince of Orange Fulda, Marshal Mollendorf, several other generals, and a considerable number of the troops, are prisoners of war."

THE END OF CHAPTER XXXIII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Napoleon's Address to the Saxon Officers....Proclamations....The King of Prussia sends a Letter to him, answering one sent the Night before the Battle of Jena...Erfurt taken....Stratagem attempted by General Kalkreuth fails....Defeated by Marshal Soult....Ingratitude of the Russians ....Halle taken. ..Singular Remark upon the Interposition of Providence....Escape of General Blucher....Blind Confidence of the Prussians....Project of blocking up the Island of Great Britain, &c. &c.

THE Sixth French Bulletin mentioned, that 6,000 Saxons, and more than 300 officers were taken prisoners of war. The Emperor Napoleon assembled the Officers, and told them it was with reluctance he had made war with them; that he had only taken up arms in the design of preserving the independence of the Saxon nation, and to prevent it from being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy; that his intention was to send them all home, if they would give him their parole never to serve against France; that their Sovereign, whose good qualities he was well acquainted with, had been too weak to retire before the Prussians, and leave his country at their mercy; that all these doings must have an end; that the Prussians, must confine themselves to Prussia, and in no respect meddle with the affairs of Germany; that it behoved the Saxons to unite themselves with the Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France, a protection it was not the first time they had enjoyed; having for two centuries past been protected by her against the encroachments of the House of Austria; that the continent had need of rest; and, that in spite of low passions and stratagems, set in motion by different courts, tranquillity

must be secured, although the fall of some thrones should pave the way. The two following Proclamations issued before and after the battle, must not pass unnoticed.

PROCLAMATION

Of the EMPEROR NAPOLEON *to his* ARMY.

"SOLDIERS!

"The arrangements for your return to France were made; already were you drawn nearer to your frontiers; triumphal festivals awaited you, and every preparation was made in the capital for your reception; but while you were retiring with so much confidence, new plots were in contrivance under the mask of friendship and union. The cry of war resounded in Berlin; for two months have we every day received more provocation. The same faction, the same spirit of destruction, which fourteen years ago brought the Prussians into the plains of Champaign, in the opportunity afforded by our divisions, animates and guides their councils. If it be no longer Paris that they want to burn and destroy from roof to foundation, it is the capitals of our Allies, in the midst of which they intend to plant their standards; it is Saxony, whom they have forced, by a disgraceful treaty, to renounce her independence, and of which they purpose to make one of their provinces; it is, in short, your laurels that they wish to tear from your brows. Shall we draw away our troops from Germany?—the senseless beings!—Let them know, that it is easier to ravage the Capital than to tarnish the honour of the children of the Great Nation, and of her Allies. Their plans were then circumvented: they found in the plains of Champaign their defeat, death, and shame; but the lesson of experience is useless, and there are men in whom the sense of hatred and envy never is extinguished.

"Soldiers! There is not one of you that would return into France by any other road but the road of honour; it

is only under an arch of triumph that you should return. What! have we braved the seasons, the seas, and the deserts; have we triumphed over Europe leagued against us; have we borne our glory, from Orient to the setting sun, only to abandon our vallies, to return to France like runaways, and to hear it said that the Eagle of France was seized with dread at the sight of the Eagle of Prussia? —but they are already in presence of our advanced guards. We will march, because moderation cannot calm such inconceivable pride. Let the Prussian army have again the fate it met with fourteen years back. Let it know, that it is easy to increase territory and power by the friendship of the Great Nation; but that her enmity, which, without renouncing every degree of wisdom and reason, cannot be provoked, is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean.

"Done at our head-quarters in Bamberg,
6th of October, 1806.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The EMPEROR NAPOLEON's Appeal to the SAXONS.

"SAXONS!

"The Prussians have over-run your territory. I enter it as your deliverer. They have forcibly broken the connexion, which united your troops, and have joined them to their own army. You are called upon to shed your blood for an interest to which you are not only strangers, but which is even in opposition to your interests.

"My army was upon the point of evacuating Germany when your territory was violated: it shall return to France as soon as Prussia has acknowledged your independence, and renounced the execution of the plan which she had formed against you.

"Saxons! your Prince had, till that moment, refused to enter into an alliance so opposite to his duties; if he has since consented to the conditions imposed upon him,

it has only been in consequence of being compelled to it by the irruption of the Prussians.

"I was deaf to the idle provocations which the Prussians offered against my people. I was deaf to them so long as their armaments were confined to the Prussian states, and my minister did not quit Berlin till your territory had been violated.

"Saxons, your destiny is in your own hands! Will you remain undetermined between those who would bring you under the yoke, and those who would defend you? My victories shall secure the existence and the independence of your Prince, and your nation. The conquests of the Prussians will only rivet your chains. But what do I say? Have they not already tried every experiment? Have they not, for a long time past, tried every effort to compel your Prince to acknowledge a sovereignty, which, once directly imposed upon you, would erase you from the list of nations?

"Your independence, your constitution, your liberty, would then only exist in the pages of memory: and the shades of your forefathers, those valiant Saxons, would disdain you, for suffering yourselves to be reduced to slavery without resistance—a slavery prepared for you so long beforehand—and thus becoming witnesses of the degradation of your country into a Prussian province.

"Given at our head-quarters at Ebersdrof,
October, 11th, 1806.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

The Seventh Bulletin stated, that the King of Prussia sent an *aide-de-camp* to the Emperor, with an answer to that of his Imperial Majesty, wrote to him before the battle of Jena. The reply of the Emperor Napoleon, was the same as that which he returned to the Emperor of Russia before the battle of Austerlitz. He said to the King of Prussia, "The success of my arms is not doubtful. Your troops shall be beaten; but it will cost me the

blood of my children. If that can be spared by any arrangement consistent with the dignity of my crown, I will do all that may depend on me. Excepting honour, nothing is so dear in my eyes as the blood of my soldiers." The Eighth Bulletin mentions, the taking a number of Prussian prisoners, convoys, &c.; and that a battalion of Prussian troops entered one of the French night camps, mistaking it for their own! The Ninth, reports the surrender of the fine citadel of Erfurth, with large magazines; and that scouts arrived every moment with news of the surrender of whole battalions, &c. The Tenth states, that, among the 60 stands of colours taken at the battle of Jena, several belonged to the King of Prussia's guards; and upon one, belonging to the body guards, the inscription was written in French. "The King of Prussia," it goes on to say, "has demanded an armistice for six weeks. The Emperor answered, it was impossible after a victory, to give the enemy time to rally. But the Prussians have been so industrious in spreading such a report, that a number of our generals, who met them, were made to believe it was actually concluded. Marshal Soult, on the 16th, arrived at Greussen in pursuit of the column where the King was, which is estimated at ten or twelve thousand men. General Kalkreuth who commanded it, caused it to be notified to Marshal Soult, that an armistice had been concluded. The Marshal replied, that it was impossible the Emperor should have committed that error; and that he would not give credit to any armistice, unless announced to him officially. General Kalkreuth, expressed a wish to see Marshal Soult, who went to the advanced posts. 'What would you have of us?' said the Prussian general, 'The Duke of Brunswick is dead; all our generals are killed, wounded, or made prisoners; the greater part of our army is put to flight. Your success has been sufficiently great: the King has demanded a suspension of arms; it is impossible your Emperor should not grant it.' 'General,' said Marshal Soult, 'it

is a long time that we have been thus dealt with. People appeal to our generosity when they are vanquished, and the moment after, forget the magnanimity we are accustomed to shew. After the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor granted an armistice to the Russian army; this armistice saved the army. Observe the unworthy manner in which the Russians have now acted: it is said, they wish to return; we burn with impatience to meet them again. Had there been so much generosity among them as among us, they would have left us to remain at peace, after the moderation we had shewn them in the midst of victory. We have no way provoked the unjust war in which you have engaged against us. You have declared it wantonly. The battle of Jena has decided the fortune of the campaign. Our business is to do you all the injury we can. Lay down your arms, and I shall wait in this situation for the orders of the Emperor.' The old General Kalkreuth, saw well that he had nothing to reply: the two generals separated, and hostilities recommenced the moment after. The village of Greussen was taken, and the enemy routed with the sword at their backs. The Grand Duke of Berg, Marshals Soult and Ney, it was then said, would re-unite by combined movements and crush the enemy. "They, without doubt, must have seen a number of fugitives; the plains are covered with them, and their route incumbered with carriages and baggage of every sort. Marshal Davoust is gone this day to Leipsic, and to throw a bridge over the Elbe. The Emperor marches towards Halle, Prince Eugene of Wirtemburg will be attacked there to-morrow, if he remains in his position. Exclusively of great magazines found at Naumburg, others have been taken at Weissenfels. The Prussian General Ruchel, has been found in a village, mortally wounded, &c." This Bulletin concluded with the following striking observation: "It appears as if it were a decree of Providence, that all those

who have pushed forward this war, should be cut off by the first blows that were struck."

The Eleventh Bulletin mentions, the defeat of the Prince of Wirtemburg, and the taking of Halle, in less than an hour. Five thousand prisoners were made on that occasion; but the Prussian General Blucher, passed through the French General Klein's dragoons, in consequence of alledging that an armistice had been concluded for six weeks. Klein, it is added, had the simplicity to believe him. It was further stated, that Montesquieu, the Emperor's orderly officer, who had been sent with a flag of truce to the King of Prussia, on the evening before the great battle of Jena, had been carried along for several days with the flying enemy. Having then returned, he described the confusion in the Prussian army as inexpressible. Notwithstanding this, their boasting on the eve of the battle was unequalled!. They thought of nothing less than cutting off the French army, and taking from it columns of 40,000 men! The Prussian generals, aped, as much as they could, the manners of Frederick the Great. Although the French were in their country, the Prussian generals appeared to be in the most complete ignorance of their movements. They believed that on the little plain of Jena there was no more than 4,000 men; and, that even when the greatest part of the French army had spread over the plain of Jena! The Emperor having crossed the field of the battle of Rosbach, ordered that the pillar erected in its memory, should be transported to Paris.

The Twelfth Bulletin, dated Halle, October 19th, stated, that the first object of the campaign had been accomplished, that Saxony, Westphalia, and all the countries on the left bank of the Elbe, were relieved from the presence of the Prussian army. That army, it was said, beaten, and pursued with the sword at its back, for more than fifty leagues, is, at this day, without artillery, with-

out baggage, and without officers, reduced to a third of what it was eight days ago; and, what is still worse than that, has lost its distinguishing character, and all confidence in itself. Here followed some intercepted private letters, apparently confirming the Bulletins of the army, to a very singular degree.

The Thirteenth Bulletin, dated Halle, October 29, 1806, was the first instrument that made us acquainted with Napoleon's project, threatening to block us up in our island! General Macon, commandant at Leipsic, in Saxony, sent the following notification to the merchants, bankers, and traders of that city.

"Since the tyrant of the seas will not respect any flag, it is the intention of the Emperer to seize the English merchandise wherever it may be found, and strictly to block them up in their Island." Great quantities of ammunition were found in the military magazines at Leipsic.

This Bulletin further stated another blunder committed by the Prussians; a regiment of their hussars, still believing that Halberstadt was in possession of their countrymen, were charged by the 22d French hussars, and lost 300 men. General Beaumont, it was added, took 600 of the King's guard, and all the equipage of that corps. Two hours before, two companies of the royal foot-guards were taken by Marshal Soult. Lieutenant-general Schmettau died at Weimar of his wounds. "Thus of this superb army, which, a few days since, threatened to invade the Confederation of the Rhine, and inspired its sovereign with such confidence, that he dared to order the Emperor Napoleon to quit Germany before the 8th of October, if he did not wish to be constrained by force; we may say, there remains nothing but the wreck; an unformed chaos, which merits rather the name of a mob than that of an army. Of 160,000 men, whom the King of Prussia had, it would be difficult to unite more than

50,000, and those without artillery, and without baggage, partly armed, and partly disarmed. All those events justify what the Emperor said in his first Proclamation, in which he expressed himself thus, " Let them learn, that although it is easy to acquire an increase of dominion and of power, by means of the friendship of a great people, its enmity is more terrible than the storms of the ocean."

" Nothing, indeed, resembles more the present state of the Prussian army, than a ship-wreck. It was like a fine and numerous fleet, which pretended to nothing less than to sweep the seas; but an impetuous North-wind has raised the ocean against it. There returns to port but a small part of the crews, who have found security only in saving themselves upon the wreck." Another letter shews, that the Prussian Cabinet mistook the moderation of the Emperor Napoleon for weakness; because, he did every thing he possibly could to avoid war, it was concluded, " that he was not prepared, and that he wanted 20,000 conscripts to fill up his army !" " The French army," the *Moniteur* observes, " was no longer cooped up at Boulogne ; it was in Germany, and M. D'Haugwitz might have counted it. We recognise, therefore, the will of that Providence which has not left our enemies eyes to to see, ears to hear, or judgment or reason to guide their conduct. It further appears, that M. Charles, Prince of Hesse, thinking to join the Prussians, had fixed his mind upon having the city of Mentz upon the Rhine ; and why not Metz," says the *Moniteur*, " and other places to the East of France ? Tell us then no longer, that the ambition of the French forced you to take up arms, rather confess it was your own ill-judged ambition ; while one French army was in Naples, and another in Dalmatia, you projected an attack upon the Great People, but in seven days your projects have been confounded. You thought of attacking France without running any risk, and already you have ceased to exist."

It is further stated, that before the Emperor Napoleon quitted Paris, he assembled his ministers, and made to them the following solemn and emphatic appeal.

"I am innocent of this war; I have done nothing to provoke it; it did not enter into my calculations. Let me be defeated if it be of my making. One of the principal motives of the confidence I have, that my enemies will be destroyed, is, that I see in their conduct the finger of Providence, who, willing that traitors should be punished, has set wisdom so far aside in their councils, that when they intended to attack me at the moment of weakness, they chose the very instant when I was stronger than ever."

The Fourteenth Bulletin mentioned, that the Marquis De Lucchesini, was at the advanced posts with a letter from the King of Prussia; that Magdeburg was blockaded; that General Belleard, Chief of the French Staff, saw there Prince Hohenloe. The language of the Prussian officers was much changed. "What" said they "does your Emperor want?—Will he continually pursue us?—We have not had a 'moment's repose since the battle.' They wanted to ask three days to bury their dead. "Think of the living," said the Emperor, "leave to us the care of burying the dead; there is no need of a truce for that."

The confusion in Berlin is extreme. All the good citizens who groaned under the false direction given to the politics of their country, reproach the firebrands, kindled by England, with the sad effects of their intrigues. There is but one cry in all the country—against the Queen. The enemy appears to be endeavouring to rally behind the Oder.

The Sovereign of Saxony has thanked the Emperor for the generosity with which he has treated him.

The Fifteenth Bulletin, dated Wittemberg, October 23, among other causes of the war, mentions that General Schmettau drew up a memorial, written with much force,

in which he established, that the Prussian army ought to regard itself as dishonoured; that it was, notwithstanding, in a state to beat the French; and that it was necessary to make war.

General Ruchell (killed) and Blucher, (who only saved himself by a subterfuge, and by abusing the French good faith) subscribed this memoir, which was drawn up in the form of a petition to the King. Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia (killed) supported it by every species of sarcasm. The flames spread through every head. The Duke of Brunswick (wounded very badly,) a man known only to be without a will, and without decision, was enrolled in the war faction. In short, the memoir, thus supported, was presented to the King. The Queen undertook to dispose the mind of the King, and to make known to him what was thought of him. She reported to him that he was not thought brave; and that if he did not make war, it was because he was afraid of putting himself at the head of his army. The King, really as brave as any Prussian prince, gave way, without ceasing to preserve the opinion, that he committed a great fault.

We should signalize the men who have not partaken of the illusions of the war partisans. These are the respectable Field Marshals, Mollendorf, and General Kalkreuth.

The Emperor, already master of the communications and magazines of the enemy, wrote, on the 12th of this month, the letter which is annexed, which he sent by the orderly officer, Montesquieu. This officer arrived on the 13th, at the quarters of General Hohenloe, who kept him there, and took the letter of which he was the bearer.

The camp of the King of Prussia was about two leagues behind. That Prince, should, therefore, have received the letter of the Emperor at six in the evening at the latest. We are assured, however, that he did not receive it till

nine o'clock in the morning, on the 14th ; that is to say, when the battle was already begun.

The Queen was always to be found at the head quarters at Weimar. It was necessary, at last, to tell her, that circumstances were serious, and, that on the morrow, great events for the Prussian monarchy might occur.

Lord Morpeth, sent by the Court of London, arrived on the 11th at Weimar, charged to propose considerable subsidies. The horizon was already very cloudy ; the Cabinet was not willing to see this envoy : he was told, that, perhaps, there was little safety for his person, and they engaged him to return to Hamburgh, there to wait the event.

" What (continues this Bulletin) would the Dutchess of Devonshire have said, had she seen her noble kinsman employed in spreading the flames of war, and, while offering the poison of gold, obliged to make a precipitate retreat? One is indignant at seeing England thus dishonour her agents, otherwise respectable, and act a character so odious." Upon the seizure of the English goods at Leipsic, it is asked, " What will England get by this war? She might have recovered Hanover, kept the Cape of Good Hope, preserved Malta, made an honourable Peace, and restored tranquillity to the world ; but she has urged Prussia on to her ruin ; and the time approaches, when we may declare England in a state of universal blockade. It was with blood only, that the English hoped to feed their commerce, and re-animate their industry. Great calamities may come upon England, Europe will attribute them to the loss of that honest man, and minister, who wished to govern by great and liberal ideas ; and which loss the English people will one day deplore with tears of blood.

" The French columns are already marching upon Potsdam and Berlin. Deputies from Potsdam are arrived to request protection.

" The Imperial head-quarters are now at Wittenberg."

Sixteenth Bulletin.—The Duke of Brunswick has sent his Marshal of the Palace to the Emperor. That officer was entrusted with a letter, in which the Duke recommended his states to the protection of his Majesty. The Emperor said to him, "If I were to demolish the city of Brunswick, and if I did not leave one stone upon another, what would your Prince say? Does not the law of retaliation authorise me to do at Brunswick, what he would have done in my capital? To threaten to destroy cities may be merely the act of madness; but to attempt to deprive a whole army of brave men of their honour—to propose to them to quit Germany at stated marches, is what posterity will hardly credit. The Duke of Brunswick ought not to have committed such an outrage. Men, who have grown grey under arms, should respect the honour of military men; it was not in the plains of Champagne that that general acquired the right to treat the French colours with such contempt. Such a summons only dishonours the soldier who makes it: that dishonour does not belong to the King of Prussia; it attaches to the chief of his military council; to the general to whom, in difficult circumstances, he had confided his affairs. It is the Duke of Brunswick alone, whom France and Prussia can accuse of the war. The frenzy, of which that old general set the example, encouraged a set of turbulent young men, and hurried on the King, contrary to his own disposition and conviction. Sir, tell the inhabitants of the country of Brunswick, that they will find the French generous enemies; that I wish to soften the rigours of war with regard to them; and that the inconvenience which the passage of troops may occasion, will be against my inclination. Tell General Brunswick, that he shall be treated with all the attention due to a Prussian officer, but that I cannot recognize a sovereign in a Prussian General. If the House of Brunswick lose the sovereignty of its ancestors, it can only be ascribed to the author of two wars—who, in one, would have sapped the

Great Capital to its foundation; and who, in the other attempted to dishonour two hundred thousand brave men, who, perhaps, might be conquered, but who would never be surprised out of the path of honour and glory. Much blood has been shed in a few days. Great disasters press upon the Prussian monarchy. How blameable is the man, who, by a single word, might have prevented them; if, like Nestor, rising in the midst of the councils, he had said, 'Be silent, ye inconsiderate youth!—women, return to your spindles, and to the management of your domestic concerns! And you, Sire, believe the companion of the most illustrious of your predecessors, since the Emperor Napoleon does not wish for war, do not place him in the alternative of war or dishonour! Do not engage yourselves in a dangerous contest with an army, that boasts of fifteen years spent in glorious labours, and that victory has accustomed to every sacrifice.' Instead of holding this language, which agreed so well with the prudence of his years, and with the experience of so long a career, he has been the first to raise the cry of war; he has even been faithless to the ties of consanguinity, in arming a son against his father; he has threatened to place his colours on the palace of Stutgard, and accompanying those proceedings with invectives against France. He was the declared author of that frantic Manifesto, which he has denied these fourteen years, though he could not deny that he had not given it the sanction of his signature."

LETTER

To the KING *of* PRUSSIA, *carried by* MONSIEUR DE MONTESQUIEU, *Captain, who set out from* GERA, *the* 13*th of October,* 1806, *at* 10 *o'Clock in the Morning; and arrived at the Camp of* GENERAL HOHENLOHE, *at* 4 *o'Clock in the Afternoon.*

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"I have only received upon the 7th, your Majesty's letter of the 25th of September. I am sorry that you

have been induced to sign a pamphlet of that kind*. I only answer your Majesty's letter for the purpose of assuring you, that I shall never attribute to your Majesty the things contained in it. Every thing in it is contrary to the the character of your Majesty, and to the honour of us both. I pity and despise those who have been the authors of such a production. I received, immediately afterwards, the Note of your Minister, dated the 1st of October. It has given me the rendezvous for the 8th. As a true knight, I have kept my word, and am now in the middle of Saxony. Let your Majesty believe me, I have such a force, that all your Majesty's forces cannot keep the victory long doubtful. But why should we shed so much blood? For what purpose is it? I shall use to your Majesty the same language that I used to the Emperor Alexander, before the battle of Austerlitz. May heaven grant, that corrupt men and fanatics, who are more the enemies of you and your throne, than they can be of me and my nation, may not give you the same advice, to bring you to the same result!

"Sire, I have been your friend for these six years. I do not wish to profit by this kind of vertigo which animates your councils, and which has made you commit errors in politics, with which Europe is quite astonished, and errors, in a military point of view, with which Europe will soon resound. If your Majesty had, in your Note, demanded any things that it was possible for me to grant, I should have granted them: you have asked what would be dishonour to me? and, therefore, you might be sure

* This alludes to a letter of the King of Prussia, consisting of twenty pages, which was a mere rhapsody, that the King most certainly could not have read or understood. We cannot print it, because, whatever relates to the private correspondence of sovereigns, remains in the port-folio of the Emperor, and does not come before the public. If we publish that of his Majesty, it is, because, many copies of it having been made at the Prussian head-quarters, (where it was much admired) one copy has fallen into our hands.

about what would be my reply. War is, therefore, declared between us, and the alliance broken for ever. But why should we shed the blood of our subjects? I set no value upon a victory which is purchased by the lives of my children. If I were now beginning my military career, and if I could fear the chances of war, this language would be out of its place. Sire, your Majesty will be conquered: you will have compromised the peace of your life and the existence of your subjects, without even the shadow of a pretext. This day you are unbroken, and may treat with me in a manner suitable to your rank: your Majesty may treat with me before a month is over, but in a situation very different. Your Majesty has permitted yourself to use irritating expressions, which have been artfully prepared. You have told me that you have often rendered me services. Well, then, I shall give you a great proof of the recollection that I have of them. It is now in your power to save your subjects from the ravages of war. It is hardly now begun, and you may finish it, and Europe will be much indebted to you. If your Majesty shall listen to those frantic persons, who, fourteen years ago, wished to take Paris, and who now have induced you to embark in a war, and in offensive projects equally inconceivable, your Majesty will do an injury to your people, that the remainder of your life will not be able to heal. Sire, I have nothing to gain in a contest with your Majesty: I want nothing, nor ever did want any thing from you. The present war is a most impolitic one. I feel, that, perhaps, by this letter, I am irritating that sensibility which naturally belongs to every sovereign; but the present circumstances admit of no disguise. I tell your Majesty what I think. Let your Majesty, moreover permit me to tell you, that it is no great discovery to Europe to learn that France is three times more populous, and as brave and warlike as the states of your Majesty. I have not given you any real subject for war. Let your Majesty then order this swarm

of malevolent and inconsiderate persons to be silent, with that respect that is due to your throne, and restore that tranquillity that is due to yourself and to your dominions. If you will never again find an Ally in me, you will find a man who is desirous of never waging any wars that are not indispensable for the interests of my people, and of never shedding blood in a contest with sovereigns who have no opposite interest to me from industry, commerce, and political system.. I pray your Majesty to see, in this letter, only the desire I have to spare the effusion of human blood, and to save a nation that, from its geographical position, cannot be an enemy to mine, from the bitter repentance which it would have to feel, from having listened too-much to those momentary passions which are so easily roused and appeased among all nations.

"Sire, my Brother, I pray God that he may have you in his worthy and holy keeping.

"Your Majesty's good Brother,

"NAPOLEON."

From my Imperial Camp at Gera,
Oct. 12, 1806.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Napoleon at Berlin....Meets with an Egyptian Lady.... Ridiculous Print of the Royal Russian and Prussian meeting over the Tomb of the Great Frederick....Surprise and hasty Flight of Lord Morpeth, the English Envoy....Court Day held by the French Emperor at Berlin....Consoles the French Protestants....His severe Reprimands to the Prussian Courtiers, &c....Affecting Scene with Madam Hatzfeldt....French Answer to the Senate of Petersburgh.... Proclamation to the Polish Nation....Surrender of Spandau ....The Corps of Prince Hohenloe, Generals Blucher, Magdeburgh, &c. surrender....The Emperor of Austria compelled to withdraw his Troops from Bohemia....Hamburgh seized by the French....The Elector of Hesse Cassel deposed...The French enter Warsaw, and pass the Vistula.... Retreat of the Russians....Proclamation, &c....Advances of the Army, &c.

ON the 25th the Emperor Napoleon arrived at Potzdam, and took a view of the new palace of Sans Souci. He staid some time in the chamber of Frederick the Great; the hangings and furniture of which were the same as at his decease.

The Emperor, while on his way from Wittenberg to Potzdam, being overtaken by a storm, stepped into a house belonging to the Grand Huntsman of Saxony, where he was very much surprised to hear a fine woman mention his name. She was an Egyptian, the widow of a French officer, who had belonged to the army of Egypt. The Emperor ordered her a pension of 1,200 francs, and offered to take care of her child. He then observed, "It is the first time that I have alighted to avoid a storm, and I had a pre-sentiment that it would be attended with

some good." It was observed, that Napoleon entered the same apartment at Potzdam, on the same day, and almost the same hour as the Emperor of Russia, when he visited Berlin the year before. "The result of the celebrated Oath taken upon the Tomb of the Great Frederick, on the 4th of November, 1805," the Seventeenth Bulletin observed, "was the battle of Austerlitz. Forty-eight hours after this event, at that time not dreamed of by the Prussian Court, a plate was engraved, and exposed in all the shops, which even excited the ridicule of the peasants. Here was seen the Emperor of Russia, near him the Queen, and on the other side, the King raising his hand in the act of swearing over the Tomb of the Great Frederick. The Queen herself, covered with a shawl, much in the same manner as the London engravers represent Lady Hamilton, rested her hand on her heart, looking at the Emperor of Russia. All this farce was exhibited to inspire the people with an abhorrence of the French nation," which, the Bulletin observes, "was so much respected by the Great Frederick, that he once said, if he were King of the French, not a cannon-shot should be fired in Europe without his permission!"

It was at the same time remarked in the Bulletin, "that the remains of this great man were enclosed in a wooden coffin, covered with copper, and placed in a vault, without any ornaments, any trophies of victory, or any distinction to recal the memory of his great and heroic actions." It was also stated, "that Lord Morpeth, the English Envoy to the Prussian Court, was only six hours distant from the field of battle on the 14th. He heard the firing: a courier informed him that the battle was lost, and in a moment after, he was surrounded by fugitives, pouring in upon him on all sides." He ran away, exclaiming, 'I must not be taken.' He offered sixty guineas for a horse; he obtained one and fled. In the Prussian palaces there was not the least order observed, so that the sword of the Great Frederick was easily found

at Potzdam, together with the scarf he usually wore during the seven years war; also, the insignia of the Black Eagle. The Emperor Napoleon took these trophies with transport, saying, 'I would rather have had these than twenty millions.' Then pausing a little, he added, 'I shall send them to my old soldiers who served in the war of Hanover. I shall present them to the Governor of the Invalids; in that Hotel they shall remain."'

On the 28th of October, the French Emperor held a kind of Court day at Berlin. The Envoys of Bavaria, Spain, Portugal, and the Ottoman Porte, were admitted to an audience. He ordered the Turkish Envoy to send a courier to inform his Court of what had taken place, and to declare, that then the Russians should not enter Moldavia, nor undertake any thing against the Turkish Empire. He afterwards received the whole of the Lutheran and Calvinist churches, mostly the descendants of French Protestants, whose ancesters took refuge there, in consequence of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He conversed with the principal persons among these Protestants; he told them "they had a just claim upon his protection; that their privileges and worship should be secured to them."

Count Von Neale, coming into the Hall of audience, the Emperor said to him, "Well, Sir, your Ladies wished for war, and they have been gratified; it becomes you to manage your household better." (Letters had been intercepted from the Count's daughter.) "Napoleon (reading these letters) will not continue the war, let others carry on the war against him." His Majesty said to Count Von Neale, "No; I will carry on no war; not that I doubt of my prowess as you have suggested, but in order to spare the blood of my subjects which is dear to me. But the good people of Berlin have been the sacrifice of the war, while those who excited it have left them and become fugitives. I shall reduce these noble courtiers to such extremities, that they shall be compelled to

beg their bread." In giving instructions to the Civil Administration of the city, the Emperor said, "I will not suffer any windows to be broken. My brother, the King of Prussia, ceased to be a King from the day when Prince Louis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his Majesty's ministers. His Majesty should have ordered him to have been hanged." The Emperor said to Prince Hatzfeldt, "Do not appear in my presence; I have no need of your services; retire to your estates." To the Twenty-first Bulletin, which contained those traits, a Proclamation was added, in which the Emperor thanked the army; announced his intention to meet the Russians and Prussians, and declared he would make no peace with England, till he had deprived her of the means of disturbing the tranquillity of the continent any more.

It is proper that the Emperor's treatment of Prince Hatzfeldt should be illustrated: it seems, that he was absolutely arrested a few moments after the audience. He would have been sent to a military commission, and inevitably condemned to death, as some letters from him to Prince Hohenloe, intercepted at the advanced posts, made it appear, that though charged only with the *civil* government of Berlin, he had given the enemy information of the *military* movements of the French. His wife, the daughter of the minister, Schulenburgh, came and threw herself at the feet of the Emperor; she thought her husband was arrested on account of the hatred Schulenburgh bore to France. The Emperor soon undeceived her, and made known to her that papers had been intercepted, proving her husband had acted a double part, and committed a great crime. The Princess attributed this accusation to her husband's enemies. "You know your husband's writing," said the Emperor, "I am going to make you the judge." The intercepted letters were immediately brought and delivered to her. This woman, upwards of eight months gone with child, fainted at

every word which discovered to her how far the accusation was founded against her husband. The Emperor was touched with her grief and confusion, and the anguish of her soul. "Well," said he, "you have a hold of that letter, throw it into the fire; this document once detroyed, I shall not be able to get your husband condemned." This affecting scene passed near the fireplace. Madam Hatzfeldt did not need to be told, a second time, to burn the letter. Her husband was set at liberty—three hours later, and he would have been shot.

Much about this time, the Directing Senate of Petersburgh having published a paper, in which, referring to the last years, campaign, they said, "it was only the Allies of Russia who were defeated." One of the French Bulletins remarked, that "all intelligent persons would despise such a declaration; that it was well known all over Europe; that there is scarce a family in Russia out of mourning; and that it is not merely the loss of their Allies that they deplore. Besides, the 195 pieces of cannon, then at Strasbourg, were not the cannon of the Allies! The 50 Russian standards, hung up in the church of Notre Dame, at Paris, are not the colours of the Allies! The crowds of Russians who died in our hospitals, or are imprisoned in our towns, were not the soldiers of our Allies!"

It being determined by the French to march to Warsaw, the following Proclamation was published by General Dombrowski.

"POLES!

"Napoleon the Great! the Invincible! enters Poland with an army of 300,000 men. Without wishing to fathom the mystery of his views, let us strive to merit his magnanimity. 'I will see,' he has said to us, 'whether you deserve to be a nation. I am going to Posen, it is there that my first ideas will be formed respecting you.' Poles, it depends then on yourselves, to exert and to have

a country: your avenger, your creator is here. Crowd, from all sides, into his presence, as children in tears hasten to behold the father who brings them succour.—Bring to him your hearts—your arms.—Rise, every one, and prove to him that you are ready to shed your blood for the recovery of your country. He knows that you are disarmed, he will supply you with them. And you, Poles, who have been compelled, by your oppressors, to fight against your own interests, come, assemble under the banners of your country. Soon, called by Napoleon the Great, shall Kosciusko speak to you by his command. In the meantime, receive this token of his high protection: Recollect, that the call he gave you to assemble in legions in Italy, has not deceived you. Those legions, it was deserving the approbation of the invincible heroes of Europe, who gave him the first conception of the Polish spirit, and the Polish character.

"DOMBROWSKI.
"WYBICHI."

At the Imperial Head-quarters, Berlin Nov. 8.

After this, the most surprising success every where attended the French arms. Spandau, a fortress capable of holding out many months, surrendered, as it were, without firing a gun. Prince Hohenloe, after many fruitless attempts to escape, was obliged to capitulate, with several thousands of men, being unable to escape the superior celerity of the enemy's movements.

General Blucher was the longest in shifting for himself; he, at length, after successive forced marches, took refuge in Lubeck, one of the free Hanse Towns; but, on the 6th of November, the day after he reached there, the French arrived, stormed one of the gates, attacked the Prussians every where, pursuing and cutting them down in the houses and churches. A Swedish detachment, at that time in the place, also suffered considerable loss; and General Blucher, and his whole detachment, capitulated.—About the same time, the Prussian General Kliest

the Governor of Magdeburg, gave up that fortress, and a strong garrison, without firing a gun! and the Elector of Saxony formally acceded to the Confederation of the Rhine. In the meanwhile, the Emperor Napoleon, finding himself more certain than ever of his objects, instructed the French ambassador at Vienna, to demand the evacuation of Bohemia by the Austrian army, who was further instructed to declare, that the departure of the Archduke Charles for the army, would be looked upon as a declaration of war against the French; and that, in this case, the ambassador would immediately leave Vienna. The Court of Austria thought it prudent to comply with these terms, and the French were left to pursue their conquests without any apprehension.

Calamities seldom come alone. Hamburgh was next occupied by the French: this was announced by Lord Howick, from the *Forcign* Office, on the 29th of November, as having actually taken place on the 19th, when all English property being seized, the alarm and confusion may be easily conceived. The Prinse of Hesse Cassel, was the next Sovereign that Napoleon chose to call to an account. It being thought proper to send Marshal Mortier to Cassel, the Prince, a marshal in the service of Prussia, demanded permission to march at the head of his own troops, along with those of France; but this was refused, it being observed, that before the Prussians were beaten and dispersed, he was more desirous of putting himself at the head of the Prussian troops, and to insult the French by all sorts of provocation. On this occasion, the French Bulletin portentously observed, "He will pay for his frenzied conduct by the loss of his dominions. There is not a principality in all Germany, that has been so uniformly the enemy of France as Hesse Cassel. For many years its Sovereigns sold the blood of its subjects to England, and gained great treasures, part of which were shut up in Magdeburgh, ready to be shipped for England, and part remitted to foreign countries. It is

time to extinguish a source of unhappiness to forty millions of people. The English may yet corrupt certain Sovereigns by means of their gold; but the loss of their thrones will be the inevitable consequences of such corruption. On the contrary, the Allies of France will prosper and be aggrandized."

The Thirty-first Bulletin states the prisoners at Magdeburgh as consisting of 20 generals, 800 officers, and 22,000 men. It also rectifies the reports concerning the capture of General Blucher's army at Lubeck.

In the Twenty-ninth Bulletin, it was said that the defeat of General Blucher had produced 12,000 prisoners, whereof 5,000 were cavalry. This was a mistake: there were 21,000 prisoners, whereof 5,000 were mounted cavalry. In consequence of the above two capitulations, we have acquired, in all, 120 stands of colours and standards, and 43,000 prisoners. The total amount of prisoners taken, during the campaign, amounts to upwards of 140,000 men; and the total amount of standards and stands of colours, is 250. The number of field-pieces which have been taken from the enemy in the field of battle, and in various engagements, exceeds 800; and the number of pieces of cannon found at Berlin, and in capitulated fortresses, exceeds 4,000. General Savary has gone with his moveable columns towards Rostock. He seized there 40 or 50 Swedish vessels, which he immediately sold.

The Thirty-second is dated Berlin, November 16, and states, that the campaign against Prussia was entirely finished by the capture of Magdeburgh, and the affair at Lubeck. This Bulletin presents an account of the Prussian army, as it was at the beginning of the campaign, and makes the total number of it to be 145,000 men, of whom not one has escaped, they having been all either taken, killed, or wounded. All their colours, and standards, their cannon, baggage, and generals, have been taken. The King of Prussia has, at present, one regi-

ment at Gros Glogau, where it is besieged; one at Breslau, one at Brieg, two at Warsaw, and some regiments at Koningsberg, in the whole about 15,000 infantry, and three or four thousand cavalry.

The Bulletins up to the Thirty-sixth, are remarkable for nothing more than the mention they make of an armistice agreed to between the French and the Prussians, but which was not ratified by the Sovereign of the latter; and the surrender of Hameln, in Hanover, with 9,000 prisoners, to General Savary.

The Thirty-sixth is dated Posen, December 1, and repeats the account of the Duke of Berg having entered Warsaw. The Russian General, Bennigsen, had anticipated the French in the possession of this city, and his advanced posts had taken a position along the river Drzura. On the 26th of November, the out-posts of the different armies fell in with each other, and, after some skirmishing, the French entered Warsaw on the 28th. The Russians retreated over the Vistula. This Bulletin says, "that it would be difficult to describe the enthusiasm of the Poles, their most fervent desire being to become again a great nation. The powerful abandon their castles, and come to implore, with earnestness, the restoration of their nation, and offer their children, their fortunes, and all their influence, towards accomplishing that end. 'Shall the Polish throne be re-established, and shall the Great Nation secure for it respect and independence? Shall she recal it to life from the grave? God, only, who directs all human affairs, can resolve this great political question."

The day after this Bulletin was published, namely on the memorable 2nd of December, there was addressed, in the name of the Emperor, to the Grand Army, the following

PROCLAMATION:

Imperial Head-quarters, at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

"SOLDIERS!

"A year ago, at the same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The sacred cohorts of Russia fled, defeated, before you; or surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and the, perhaps, blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the Third Coalition, is the formation of a Fourth to be ascribed. But the Ally, on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his forage, and ammunition, magazines, 280 standards, 700 pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor Warta, the Desarts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting, for a moment, our progress. You have braved all dangers—have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain did the Russians wish to defend the Capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French Eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate, but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of their great Sobieski returning from a military expedition.

"Soldiers! we shall not lay down our arms, until a General Peace has confirmed and secured the power of our Allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies. On the Elbe, and on the Oder, we have re-conquered Pondicherry, all our possessions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What right has Russia to hope that she shall hold the balance of destiny in her hand? What right has she to expect she should be placed in so favourable a situation? Shall there be a comparison made between the Russians and us! Are we not then the soldiers of Austerlitz?

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

How little disposed the French, under Napoleon, have been to outrage any kind of religious feeling, appears in their proceedings at fort Czenstokaw, "where (the Thirty-ninth Bulletin stated,) a treasure was found, consisting of a number of valuables, dedicated by the Poles to the Holy Virgin, as the tutelary guardian of the country. This treasure Buonaparté ordered to be given up to the original proprietors. The French army, at Warsaw, is perfectly satisfied with the patriotism of the Poles; and this day the city of Posen gave a ball in honour of his Majesty, who was present an hour. *Te Deum* was also performed, in consequence of its being the anniversary of Buonaparté's coronation."

The next piece of news received, was, that the Russians, who had re-crossed the Vistula, had re-passed that river at Warsaw. The Grand Duke of Berg, in pursuit of them, had taken Praja, and the Emperor Napoleon gave orders to Prince Jerome, to invest Breslau. Marshal Ney also passed the Vistula, and entered Thorn.

The Thirty-ninth Bulletin, dated Posen, December 7th, stated "that a courier had arrived with intelligence from the Emperor, that the Russians had declared war against the Porte, that Choczim and Bender were surrounded by their troops, that they had suddenly passed the Dneister, and advanced as far as Jassy. General Michelson commands the Russian army in Wallachia. The Russian army, under General Bennigsen, had evacuated the Vistula, and seemed inclined to retire into the interior. Marshal Davoust had passed the Vistula, and had established his head-quarters before Praga. His advanced posts were on the Bug."

THE END OF CHAP. XXXV.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Napoleon's extensive Views of Religious Toleration.... Singular Edict for assembling Jewish Deputies at Paris ...Causes that led to this Important Object....Comparisons made by the French Bishops between the French Emperor and Cyrus, the Persian Monarch....Singular Passages from different Mandamuses....Civil Writers, &c....The Power of popular Impressions....Extract from the New Sanhedrin, and Causes and Consequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews....Questions proposed to the Jewish Deputies at Paris...,M. Jacobsohn's Letter to the Emperor Napoleon....Esdras, Matthew, and Revelations XIX. compared...The Objections against Jewish Emancipation....Infamous Badges of Distinction abolished in Germany....Degrading Inscription, &c. at Francfort.... Reflections from a Monthly Publication....Dr. Gill's Opinion on the actual Restoration of the Jews....The late Anti-Commercial Decree of the French Emperor.

THOUGH the military exploits of the year 1806, and the ensuing campaign in Prussian Poland, were equal, if not superior to the preceding campaigns in Germany and Hungary, still one of the political arrangements of the French Emperor, has ever since excited the admiration of thinking men in a much greater degree; as the latter is an act, which, according to those who are truly friends to religious toleration, surpasses all his *victories!* Not satisfied with a total reformation of the Catholic church, and the grant of free liberty of conscience to the Protestants in France, and, particularly, to the poor Waldenses in Savoy, over whom almost every other French monarch had held the sword of persecution, suspended as by a single thread; Napoleon was not willing that any sentient,

or reasonable being, should wear the badge of distinction or degradation in his enlarged dominions.—Unbiassed by any of the antient and stubborn prejudices against the Jews, such as the notion that they are the objects of Divine wrath, he most probably consulted his own understanding, and the example of a few enlightened men in France, and upon the continent, who had lately advocated their cause with uncommon force and conviction. He found they were capable of being restored to society, and fit subjects for a political and moral regeneration; and, accordingly, on the 30th of May, 1806, the religious world was surprised at the decree issued from St. Cloud, calling together an assembly of Jewish Deputies at Paris, under the idea of forming a Sanhedrin.

But, as this was an extraordinary measure, and as no Christian Sovereign could ever succeed before in any of their attempts to alter the condition of the Jews, it may be necessary to trace the causes before we proceed to expatiate upon the successes of Napoleon in this undertaking. The fact is this: his surprising escape from Egypt when the seas were nearly covered with British vessels; his seizure of the reins of government from the grasp of a powerful faction; his elevation to the Consulate; his victories; his astonishing escapes from the plots of assassins; the severity of his morals; his tolerating disposition in religion, and the flourishing state into which he had raised the French Empire; all seemed to point him out as a very extraordinary man; a person uncommonly favoured. With this character, it is not surprising that his subjects should more cordially co-operate with him than any other person; and that they should even flatter this opinion among themselves and others. We are not disposed to justify any extravagant presumption on this head; but if we consider that the peculiar destiny and character of Buonaparté very soon became the language of the pulpits; and, that where plausibility superseded any necessity for flattery, we cannot wonder

at the effects that followed. Every one conversant in the history, and the common feelings of mankind, may have observed the frequent instances, when a popular song, or even a tune, has excited the people to acts of enthusiasm; and wrought upon them in a manner as if they had been machines. How much more powerful, then, must that feeling, or that influence be, that with it seems to captivate the reason, the understanding, the religious opinions of those to whom it is addressed. Accordingly, among the first comparisons which the French bishops made between Napoleon and other great characters of antiquity, they chose that of Cyrus, the King of Persia; who, for the part he took in liberating the Jews from their captivity in Babylon, and rebuilding their Temple, was called *God's anointed*, or the Messiah. See Isaiah, chapter the xlvth and 1st. Here, perhaps, it may be said, unhappily, the comparison between Cyrus and Napoleon, was strengthened and borne out by circumstances, that increased almost without intermission. If the first had restored the Jewish Temple, the second had restored the Christian Church. If the first was a fit personage to liberate the Jews from Babylonish captivity, was the second less proper to liberate them from the cruel despotism of that fallen Church, of which Babylon was supposed to have been only a figure? This is a point that does not admit of a doubt: besides, those ecclesiastics and others, who addressed Buonaparté as a favoured and extraordinary person, took occasion to contrast his good fortune and superiority with the different character, and the crimes of his enemies. We shall give some of these singular effusions; and, let the reader judge.

In a Mandamus, issued by the Bishop of Orleans, so early as February, 1804, alluding to that pride and maritime power, whose enormous wealth alone enabled it to organize assassinations, and sow the seeds of discord among kingdoms; he says, "A day will come, and this day may not be far distant, when the Lord shall say to

them, as he said to the daughters of Sidon, Isaiah xxiii. *Erubesce Sidon*, 'Blush Sidon, for the base and contemptible means you have employed against your enemies." *Arrogantia ejus et indignatio plus quam fortitudo ejus:* "thy pride and indignation are greater than thy strength." Sovereigns of the sea, you shall descend from that lofty throne to which you have been raised, merely by the fatal divisions of a neighbouring nation. *Descendent de sedibus suis omnes principes maris.* 'The day will come, when you must lay aside all the splendid characters of your glory and prosperity.' *Auferent exuvias suas.* 'The ships of war, now your boast and pride, shall, themselves, be astonished at your humiliation.' *Stupebunt naves in die pavoris tui.* The world, witness of these events, shall exclaim in its astonishment, 'Celebrated nation, whose power was dreadful, whose throne was in the midst of the sea; how art thou fallen from the bosom of riches, and the pinnacle of grandeur!' *Quomodo periisti quæ habitas in mari cum habitatoribus tuis, quos formidabant universis.* Ezek. chap. xxvi. ver. 16, 17, 18. "Such are the denunciations of the Holy Spirit, which, by the prophets, were addressed to those proud cities, blinded by the number of their vessels, and the splendour of their riches; and these denunciations belong equally to all nations who abuse their power."

The sentiments thus addressed to the religious opinions of the French people, were not merely those of the moment: new, and more recent occurrences only tended to give them greater weight! In the Third Coalition, "when Austria was the Herald to announce that peace was no longer, the French people were still made confident that they saw the foot-steps of the Divinity leading them to new triumphs." Hence, the Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa, accommodating the second Pslam to that event, exclaimed, "The Kings of the earth set themselves, and the Rulers take council against the Lord, and against his anointed. He that sitteth in the

heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision."

"The nations risen up against us, feel their wounds still bleeding from the late ruinous war; however, we see them again embarking upon a dangerous ocean, where storms and tempests are frequent, and even where they have suffered such calamities. Shocking to rectitude and good faith, regardless of treaties, and in contempt of the peace they have sworn to observe, they suddenly attack their peaceable neighbours, pouncing, like vultures, upon their defenceless prey. 'The God of righteousness and strength will forsake them, because their ways are not upright. All their means shall become weak: they have sown the wind, and they shall only reap tempests and storms.' Let us recollect what God has already done for us: he has raised up a Hero, whom he has invested with courage and strength: he has led him by the hand to subdue nations; to put their armies to flight, and to open all their gates before him. Contrasted with the crooked policy of our enemies, what confidence ought we not to feel? They are lying children; children who say to those who have eyes, 'See not;' and to those who see, 'look not to us for that which is just and upright.' They place all their reliance in the gold of those proud islanders, who already laugh at their credulity; and they trust *in those clouds of men, who issue from the frozen pole* to inundate our frontiers. But this confidence, which is not of God's Spirit, shall cover them with confusion."

The Bishop of Versailles, also, alluding to the alliance of the Confederate Powers with the *Russians*, began his Mandamus, with this apostrophe, "The mystery of iniquity is at length unfolded: but our invincible defenders, and the Hero who leads them, shall teach our enemies that he, who reigns in Egypt, is a man and not God. *Egyptus homo, et non Deus.*"

Civil officers and writers, as well as ecclesiastics, adopted these sentiments with respect to Napoleon, and

the leagues formed against him. M. Joubert, in the sitting of the Tribunate, September 26, 1805, seemed to glance at the final overthrow of the Austrian power, in consequence of its *alliances*, by an allusion to what he calls the remarkable words inserted by the Emperor Charles V. in the famous Golden Bull. *Omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur, nam principis ejus facta sunt socii furum;* viz.—"Every kingdom divided against itself must perish, when its princes shall have become the companions of thieves." Isaiah chap. ii. 23.

Whether all this may be reason or rant, is not the question here: the impression that naturally followed, was, that Napoleon, having been the political saviour of his country, could not be less so to the Jews; at least, that as a powerful monarch, he was, indeed, very highly favoured by Providence. But the ideas entertained by the Jews themselves on this subject, may be best learned from a recent publication of uncommon interest, considered either as a political or theological treatise: *vide* —"The Causes and Consequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews, including Official Documents, and the Final Decisions of the Grand Sanhedrin; a Sketch of the Jewish History since their Dispersion; their Recent Improvements in the Sciences and Polite Literature, upon the Continent, and the Sentiments of their principal Rabbins, fairly stated and compared with some eminent Christian Writers, upon the Restoration, the Rebuilding of the Temple, the Millennium, &c.; with an Answer to the Question, 'Whether there is any thing in the Prophetic Records, that seems to point particularly to England." By an Advocate for the House of Israel.

This work we have quoted, because, it appears to contain clearer ideas of the nature of the restoration of the Jews, than any that have been hitherto published. And as to the means by which this great object, so important

to Christians, is to be effected; it appears, the opinion lately adopted in France, (viz.; "that some powerful monarch would act in the last ages as the agent of the Messiah,") was originally avowed in England long before the French revolution was thought of! As we might not do justice in quoting the work in question from memory, we have taken the liberty to extract a part of the eighth chapter.

"Though it is admitted that the Rabbins acknowledge their Messiah as a powerful triumphant Prince, high in dignity, and celebrated in war: still, it is not less a truth, that some of the soundest Christian commentators on the Revelations, have, at least, expected that the reign of the Messiah on earth would certainly be introduced by some celebrated monarch, some eminent warrior. We cannot say any thing to a third opinion, that this monarch, whoever he may be, will be the Messiah personified; his deputy on earth, his vicegerent, his anointed, his agent; such as Cyrus had been before, but far beyond him in power and celebrity. This persuasion led the learned Mr. Joseph Mede to fix his thoughts upon Gustavus Adolphus, whom he thus speaks of in his 'Clavis Apocalyptica.'

"There is now, at length, come from the North, God's avenger of wrongs, to succour afflicted and oppressed Germany; a godly king, happy, and which way soever he turneth, a conqueror; whose prosperous progress is wonderfully speedy. Is not this he whom the Lord of Hosts hath destined to execute the work of the Vial? so I hope and heartly pray: gird thee with thy sword, therefore, O great King, go on prosperously, and bear rule, because of truth and righteousness, and thy right-hand shall teach the marvellous things."

Here, it is evident, that the learned commentator made no scruple in applying the Scriptures, understood of the Messiah, in Psalm xlv. to a warrior, a temporal

king, who seemed engaged in promoting the cause or interest of Christ against the anti-christian power of the House of Austria. He chastised that arrogant House, and procured several essential benefits for the Protestants in the Treaty of Westphalia. But Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was by no means the *man* destined by the Lord of Hosts to execute the work of the Vial of Wrath upon the sun of the anti-christian kingdom.

"It is not only consistent with Scripture, but reason also suggests, that military means may be equally as necessary to demolish an offensive system of policy, civil and ecclesiastical, namely, the anti-christian, as other military agents had been before to establish it.

"Hence, a person who has made ever so small a progress in the study of prophetical analogy, or of moral relations, will easily admit the propriety of a remark, made thirty years ago, viz. 'That the angel, which in Revelations xix. 17, is represented as *standing in the sun*, signifies some person who shall then be possessed of an *imperial crown*'.

"This author, however, viewed the immortal Frederick of Prussia, as one of the greatest scourges to the House of Austria; because Frederick also 'resembled Moses in many respects, as a legislator, a prince, and a general.'

"Respecting the particulars of the Hero's character, for whom the great task of extinguishing the mystical empire of anti-christ was reserved, this author thought 'he would be one, untainted with vice, yet loaded with reproach; of singular moderation, yet accused of ambition; of the highest dignity, yet condescending to the meanest; in a word, one of invincible fortitude, *supported by the God of heaven*, and whose heart glows with the love of truth, of liberty, and of mankind.'

"The exploits of the great Frederick of Prussia were certainly uncommonly surprising: he had surmounted innumerable obstacles, and vanquished the Russians, the

Austrians, and a host of foes; but, as the writer just quoted, did not live to see army after army, kingdom after kingdom, and emperor after emperor, overthrown, by a greater than Frederick, it is certain, that, though right in the principle of applying these characters in the prophetic writings, he was only wrong in the person to whom he applied them.

"The introduction of the Millennium by some distinguished human character, or agent of the Messiah, seems very clear, according to Esdras, in the thirteenth chapter, which may be compared with the nineteenth of the Revelations.

"There is also a most singular degree of conformity between the thirteenth chapter of Esdras, and the twenty-fourth of Matthew. At the time here spoken of by Esdras, it is said 'the Most High shall astonish the hearts of those that dwell upon the earth:' one shall prepare to fight against another, city against city, place against place, nation against nation, and realm against realm. See also Matthew, xxiv. 7. Thus, again, in the Revelations, it seems the kings of the earth were to gather themselves to the battle of the Great Day, and to make war against the Lamb, or his cause, which is the same. This cause, however, and the earthly power that takes it up, shall prosper, because we are told, he is Lord over all other lords, and King over all other kings, and they that are with him, viz. in his interests, *are called, and chosen, and faithful.* Revelations xvii. 14. The nineteenth chapter of Revelations seems, therefore, to bestow the same epithet upon this mighty agent of the Messiah as was formerly bestowed upon Nebuchadnezzar, who, for his power alone, was also called *King of kings.* Of him, also, it was said, 'whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.' The character, therefore, described in this chapter, cannot be *Christ in person,* as most of the commentators have hitherto supposed; because, as the office of an executioner is inconsistent with the

supreme dignity of sovereigns, who uniformly commit the punishment of the guilty to their inferiors, their agents, or vicegerents, therefore, the high character in Revelations xix. is a deputy, a warrior, a mighty potentate, and yet an agent in the service of God, to slay, with the sword, to make a fort, and cast a mount against (the mystical Babylon of the New,' just as Nebuchadnezzar had done against the literal Babylon of the Old Testament. And thus it may be said, that what Providence designs to do by the Messiah, being done by agency, may be properly said to be done by the Messiah himself; agreeable to the known rule in logic. '*Qui per alium facit, facit per se,*' viz.' 'That which is caused by another, is done by the person who caused it.'

"Besides, as the Mystical Babylon, or system of anti-christian tyranny, was established by a superstitious clergy, assisted by the rulers of kingdoms, supported by secular establishments, and numerous armies, it was necessary to contend against and remove this enormous power by the same means which had been used to establish it; and as all the wars carried on by the anti-christian party were *unjust,* and only in the cause of iniquity, he, who in Revelations xix. is supposed to lead the armies of heaven, (belonging to, or appointed by heaven) is said *to make war (justly, or) in righteousness.* His eyes, therefore, it is said, were as a flame of fire: viz. his discernment was acute and penetrating to the highest degree. *And he had a name,* an appointment *written,* or pre-designed for him, *that no man knew but himself: and he was clothed in a vesture dipped in blood;* his victories and conquests had become his principal ornaments: *and his name,* his character, *is called the Word, or* Manifestation of the power of God; and that high destination, or appointment, *was written,* was apparent, *upon his vesture and his thigh,* in the external appearance of imperial dignity. *And the armies which were in heaven,* in the heaven of sphere, of supreme power and authority, *followed him upon white*

horses, (the harbingers of peace and happiness) *clothed in fine linen, white and clean.*

" *And, besides these armies,* (and their weapons) *out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword,* (the law of justice,) that with it he should also smite the nations. Revelations xix.

" Consistent with this idea, it is said in Esdras xiii. 'And this, my son, shall rebuke the wicked inventions of those nations, which, for their wicked life, are fallen into the tempest; and without any labour, (extreme toil or exertion,) will he destroy them, even by the law, which is compared unto the fire.'"

The Jewish Deputies having assembled at Paris at the appointed time, viz. July 15th, 1806, they were met by the Emperor's commissioners, who, after an introductory speech, put the following questions, requiring them, after due deliberation, to answer each separately and fully:

I. " Is the Jew permitted to marry more than one wife?

II. " Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion?

III. " Can a Jewess intermarry with a Christian, or a Christian female with a Jew? or does the law prescribe that Jews alone should intermarry?

IV. " Are the French, in the eyes of the Jews, brothers or aliens?

V. " What, in all cases, are the connexions which their law permits them to maintain with the French who are not of their religion?

VI. " Do the Jews, who were born in France, and have been treated as French citizens by the laws, consider France as their native country? Are they bound, to defend it? Are they under an obligation to obey the laws, and to follow all the regulations of the civil code?

VII. " Who are they who are called Rabbins?

VIII. " What civil jurisdiction do the Rabbins exercise among the Jews? What power of punishment do they possess?

IX. "Are the mode of choosing the Rabbins, and the system of punishment, regulated by the Jewish laws, or are they only rendered sacred by custom?

X. "Were the Jews forbidden by their laws to take usury of their brethren? Are they permitted or forbidden to do this of strangers?

XI. "Are those things proclaimed which are forbidden to the Jews by their law?"

About the same time as these documents appeared in an English translation, another Work was published, as, "The Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin;" which title was a fallacy; for, instead of giving the descisions of that Sanhedrin, &c. as they actually appear in the Work we have before referred to, it concludes with the breaking up of the Assembly of the Deputies, some time before the Sanhedrin was convened! It is not only faulty in this respect, but apparently ignorant of every principle of civil and religious liberty; it abuses both the Jews who accepted, and the Sovereign who presented them with these new privileges. In fine, as the writer would make the emancipation of the Jews a mere contrivance to obtain money, the following Letter from M. Jacobsohn, to the Emperor of the French, was suppressed!

"SIRE,

"Penetrated with sentiments of the most profound veneration, and filled with that admiration which those extraordinary men always excite, who, at different periods, are chosen by the Eternal to ennoble the human race; I approach your Majesty's throne with all that confidence, the great actions with which you have caused the astonished world to resound, are calculated to inspire.

"I have not the happiness to be numbered among the people for whose advantage you sacrifice all the moments of your life. I belong not to that happy country, to which you have called back peace. I am one of the unfortunate Jewish People, against whom ignorance and superstition have leagued, in order to degrade them, and

render them the opprobrium of every other nation: but the Lord of Hosts has chosen you to give happiness to the world, and the Jews are a part of that world. I belong to that people, whose misery has, for more than thousand years, in vain implored the campassion and the humanity of Sovereigns—to that people who expected in you their Saviour, and who, in you, Sire, have found him!

"I have constantly endeavoured to promote the happiness of my countrymen by civilizing them; and my efforts have been crowned with the happiest success. I have, at last, been able to interest several German Princes in favour of the Jewish People. I have obtained for my unfortunate brethren the abolition of an infamous tax. I have established, at my own expence, an Institution for the Instruction of Jewish children, and in which there are at present more than twenty Christian children. Now, however, I place no limits to any hopes, since I have the happiness to raise my suppliant voice to the throne of your Majesty.

"Deign, Sire! to extend your beneficent views to the Jews who inhabit the countries adjoining to your vast Empire. If you confine your benefits to that part of my brethren, who are among your Majesty's subjects, how much will still remain to be desired! How will it be possible to surmount the obstacles, which the difference of the French administration, and that of other states, will place between them and us? The commercial relations of France and Germany require a constant intercourse between the Jews of these countries; but what Jew, inhabiting your states, would degrade the title of French citizen by the humiliations and vexations which the system of administration in Germany would make him experience? Would he choose his spouse among a people rendered infamous by the laws of the country they inhabit?

"How great and sublime is the enterprise of breaking

the chains of a people unjustly oppressed! Who, but a God, can hearken to their complaints, and deliver them from an insupportable bondage?

"The Princes of Germany do not oppose the accomplishment of this grand work: on the contrary, it is the object of their wishes; they are anxious to ameliorate our condition. We groan under the operation of ancient laws, dictated by barbarism, and which prejudice only could have maintained until the present day.

"The German Jew would be happy were he permitted to earn his bread honestly, to enjoy the common right of protection which governments owe to their subjects; and were there given to his worship a practical form which, without deviating from his own law, would accord with the exercise of all the duties of citizenship.

"But, to attain this object, it would be necessary,

1. "To establish a Sovereign Jewish Council, presided over by a Patriarch, residing in France.

2. "To class all the persons, professing the Jewish faith, according to the districts they inhabit, with a Synod to each; which, under the superintendence of the French Government, and the Sovereign Jewish Council, should decide on all affairs connected with worship, and should appoint the Rabbies.

3. "To authorise the said Sovereign Council to supply each Jew with the necessary expences for enabling him to fulfil the duties of a citizen in every country.

4. "These means, Sire! appear equally certain and indispensable. Only break the political and ecclesiastical chains, which confine the Jews to a state of slavery, and you will soon see them aspire to the dignified character of other nations. Then shall we emulate our ancestors, who changed the barren rocks of Palestine into delightful gardens, and covered them with the richest harvest. Then shall we be worthy of bearing the same name as those heroes, who planted their victorious standards on the

banks of the river Jordan, with the same hands with which they guided the plough and shuttle.

"M. JACOBSOHN."

Those persons, such as are generally the advocates for those in power, and who raise an alarm even against the reform of abuses, which reform they commonly brand with the odium of sedition or innovation, thought, with respect to the Jews, that the latter stood in need of no fresh indulgence or privileges!—They did not even suppose the tolls levied upon Jews, in several parts of Germany, in the same manner as they are levied upon cattle, entailed either indignity or disgrace: though, independently of these tolls, the Jews, in many parts of the continent, were even treated with barbarity. For instance, those of Francfort, were confined, by compulsion, to one particular quarter of the city, called, the *Juden Gass*, or Jew's Street. Increasing population rendered their situation highly inconvenient; consequently, their habitations exhibited a scene of disease and filth scarcely to be imagined: from sun-set to sun-rise, they were shut up in their quarter. The public gardens, and the walls of the ramparts were forbidden to them; and no longer since than August, 1806, the following inscription disgraced a public walk in a Christian city! "*Jews and swine are not admitted here!*" The late measures, set on foot by Napoleon, have made all the alteration that could be wished for at Francfort. The Jews there occupy the best houses in every quarter of that city, just as their wealth or convenience may induce them.

That all the Emperor Napoleon's measures are perfectly agreeable to the whole of the Jewish body, is not contended for. The Rabbins, from the first, were extremely unwilling to sanction the marriages, that in France are performed before a magistrate, as they probably thought, that by throwing obstacles in the way of this measure, they should prevent what they deem an

unlawful union between Jews and Christians; and, that in consequence of intermarrying, they should at length cease to be what they have wished, a *separate people*, a nation within a nation. However, if such be the change which the Great Napoleon meditates for these people in France, Spain, Italy, and the greatest part of the continent, it is not likely they will be in a condition to counteract his designs. Hitherto, their general habits of life, have encouraged and promoted an inclination to keep themselves distinct, even beyond the considerations dictated by their religion, so far as it does not oppose the good of the state, it does not appear to be the wish of the Emperor to interfere with. With their way of life, however, he is by no means satisfied. The last Decree issued concerning them, will not admit them indiscriminately, to pursue their speculations, and excuse themselves from honest labour. To partake of the fruits of the earth in his large dominions, they must also *till the ground.* The rich are called upon to purchase rural property, and to abandon the low pursuits of sordid avarice, too often the means of ill-gotton wealth, obtained at the expense of those less fortunate or wary than its possessors; and the results that belong to it, we believe, are such that no well-wisher to mankind in general need to regret.

But, as this is rather more of a religious than a political subject, we have borrowed the late Decree, and the reflections that precede and follow it, from the Miscellaneous Department of one of the soundest and most consistent publications of the day*. Speaking of the French Emperor, it is observed, " The golden image of hostile commerce, which we had set up, and long since, by our own example, taught all nations to worship, he still seems determined to pull down; though he cannot

* Vide, the New Series of the Gospel Magazine and Theological Review, for April, 1808, page 177.

reach its heart, he seems most effectually smiting it upon its feet of iron and clay," and may thus effect its fall. So far now as he compels the nations of the continent to suffer all the privations his interest requires, he may be said to "rule them with a rod of iron."—Still, the bitter cup which he pours out to them, in return for that full of "the wine of fornication," may, afterwards, prove a wholesome corrective. In this view, he does not spare his own people: he seems determined to drive the Canaanite; viz. the merchant, out of the land; for, even with respect to the Jews, he may be said, "not to regard their silver, and as for gold he taketh no delight in it." Two years have nearly passed since the Sanhedrin first met; and it is intimated, that the Emperor has not seen that reformation among those people which he expected; viz. that they still pursue usury and speculation, in the room of honest labour and fair dealing; he has, therefore, prohibited them from any concerns in commerce, or what is called speculation, for ten years to come; and, even makes it a privilege for any Jew, in the meantime, to settle in France or Italy, without giving three months notice, and bringing a character, that he is no usurper! &c." This moral reformation, or preparation, will certainly go further towards the *real* restoration of the Jews, than any step that has hitherto been taken: and, among all the erroneous opinions that have been broached concerning these people, it appears, now, that the learned Dr. Gill had the clearest views of their real *actual* restoration. He declared, when the famous Naturalization Bill passed, in 1735, that it would not stand; that the time was not come for the event expected; and that they (the Jews) must, as he expressed it, "be spiritualized before they could be naturalized." That great Divine, probably, saw, that the base and sordid habits of the Jews (habits which the profligate governments, who have stood in need of their money, had encouraged) must be changed before they could

receive either moral or religious impression; and, that before they could rise with the true Christian, and "set their affections on things above," (above in point of excellence, it would be as necessary for one of the prophecies to be fulfilled concerning them as another: here it is declared—"Their land is full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures: but, when the day of the Lord (or his visitation) shall be upon every one that is proud and lofty, and when he will punish the host of the high ones that are upon the earth; in that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and gold to the moles and the bats." Isaiah ii. &c. Which love of money (since an apostle has defined covetousness to be idolatry) is not to be understood of the external worship of gold and silver images. In the real restoration of Israel, the privilege of every man possessing his own vine and his own fig-tree is also promised; but, having no country, this they could not do: now, provided they embrace an agricultural life, this privilege they may, almost literally possess, under the French Emperor; "and who shall make them afraid?" It will, in short, be seen, by the following Decree, that Napoleon is determined to change their habits and pursuits, by inuring them to honest labour, instead of their former practices of traffic, speculation, and a vagabond life. They, because they are rich, he will not allow to find substitutes for the Conscription; otherwise, by that means, they would still continue, like privileged Quakers, and others, elsewhere, to share in the benefits of the state, without partaking of some of its heaviest burdens; viz. the exposure of life and limbs for its service. This is certainly a hard measure to be suddenly adopted, but no honest man can say it is not a just one.—However, the document may better explain the particulars.

"An Imperial Decree, of the 17th of last month, has ordered the execution of the measures determined on at

Paris, in December last, respecting the Jews.—It annuls all obligations for loans made by Jews to minors, without the sanction of their guardians—to married women, without the consent of their husbands; or to millitary men, without the authority of their superior officers. Bills granted by French subjects, to Jews, cannot be demanded, unless their holders prove that the full value was given without any fraud. All debts accumulated by interest, above five *per cent.* are to be reduced by the courts of law; if the interest growing on the capital exceed twenty-three *per cent.* the contract is to be declared usurious. After the 1st of July next, no Jew will be allowed to trade without a patent, renewable annually; this patent the Prefects are not to grant to any individual until he produce a certificate of his character, testifying that he is no usurer. No Jew, not actually settled in the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine, can be admitted to a domicile there: in the other departments the Jews cannot be allowed to settle, except upon condition of their purchasing rural property, and abandoning commerce; the Emperor may, however, grant to individuals exceptions to this law. The Jews of the Conscription are required to perform personal service, and are not allowed to find substitutes. These regulations are to be continued only during ten years, in the hope, that, after that period, there will be no difference between the moral character of the Jews and other citizens of the Empire. If the contrary should appear, the law will be continued in force.

Buonaparté has had the following return made to him of the number of Jews in all the different parts of the habitable globe; viz. in the Turkish Empire one million; in Persia, China, and India, on the East and West of the Ganges, three hundred thousand; and in the West of of Europe, Africa, and America, one million seven hundred thousand; making, in the aggregate, a popula-

tion of three millions.—One third of this number, the most enlightened, if not the wealthiest, are already under the dominion of the French Emperor."

To the praise of some of the Jews in France, there are three departments, which are excluded from the operation of this anti-commercial Decree, viz.; those of Bourdeaux, the Gironde, and Landes.—But, here the majority of them are supposed to be cultivators or farmers.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The Russian Cossacks....Battle of Pultusk....Of Prussian Eylau....Peace offered to England... Spanish Troops assembled on the Elbe....Surrender of Dantzic....Decisive Battle of Friedland....The Meeting of the Three Sovereigns at Tilsit....Conference on a Raft, &c....The French Guards treat the Prussian and Emperor of Russia's Guards with a Dinner.

SEVERAL new situations were described after the war had been transferred into Poland: the face of the country, the people, the roads, all appeared novel. The Russian Cossacks were described as a scandal to human nature, the most wretched and cowardly beings in existence. They are said to have passed the river Bug, and violated the Austrian territory every day, to plunder a house in Gallicia, or to compel the inhabitants to give them brandy, which they drank with great avidity.

After the French cavalry were used to their mode of attack, notwithstanding their numbers and hideous cry, they used to await them without alarm, as it was well known that 2,000 of these wretches were not equal to a squadron of the French cavalry. Even the winter, severe as it was, did not put a stop to the operations of Napoleon. On the 26th of December, after several preceding skirmishes, the battle of Pultusk was fought, on which day the Russians were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides 80 pieces of cannon. The French admit their own loss to have been 800 killed, and 2,000 wounded, including in the latter several generals. After this battle, the Russians fell back ot Ostrolenka, about fifty miles North-east of

Warsaw. Pultusk, where the battle of the 26th was fought, is about mid-way between these two places.

One of the next Bulletins stated, that, "Eighty-four pieces of cannon, taken from the Russians, were ranged before the Palace of the Republic at Warsaw. They are those which were taken from Generals Kaminski, Bennigsen, and Buxhovden, in the battles of Czarnowo, Nasielsk, Pultusk, and Golymin; and are the very same that the Russians drew along the streets of this city with so much ostentation, when they lately marched through them to meet the French. It is easy to conceive the effect which the sight of so grand a triumph must produce upon a people delighted with seeing the humiliation of enemies, who have so long and so cruelly oppressed them.

"Five thousand prisoners have been sent to France, 2,000 escaped in the moments of confusion, and 1,500 have entered among the Polish troops.

"Thus have the battles with the Russians cost them a great part of their artillery, all their baggage, and from 25,000 to 30,000 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners."

It would be tedious to detail the circumstances of all the advantages which resulted to the French, from the superiority of their movements and address. Nothing of unusual consequence occurred till the affair at Prussian Eylau, on the 7th and 9th of February, which are thus briefly extracted from the French Bulletins.—They state as follows: "From the 5th to the 7th of February, 1807, there have been, between the two armies, several obstinate battles, which terminated by the retreat of the enemy to the other side of Eylau, where our troops took up a position. On the 8th, at day break, the enemy began the attack, a dreadful cannonade took place on both sides; the Russian army, ranged in columns, was within half cannon shot: every ball told.

"The Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the cavalry,

fell upon the hostile army. Two lines of Russian infantry were broken; two squadrons of the guards twice traversed the whole army of the enemy. This brilliant and incredible charge, which had hewn down more than 20,000 of the enemy's infantry, would have instantly decided the victory, had it not been for a wood, and some difficulties in the ground. The loss of the enemy is immense—ours is considerable. Three hundred mouths of fire vomited death, from one side and the other, for twelve hours. The victory, for a long time uncertain, was at last our's.

"The enemy retired beyond the Pregel. Marshal Augereau is wounded by a ball. Our loss amounts to 1,900 killed, and 5,700 wounded. Seven thousand Russians were counted on the field of battle. Thus the offensive expedition of the enemy, which had for its object to bear down upon Thorn, by turning the left wing of the Grand Army, has been of the most direful consequences to them; 12 or 15,000 prisoners, as many killed, 18 standards, and 45 pieces of cannon, are the trophies, for which we have paid too dear, without doubt, by the blood of so many brave men.

"This expedition is concluded; the enemy beaten, and driven one hundred leagues from the Vistula. The army is about to resume its cantonments, and go into winter quarters."

This affair, notwithstanding the retreat of the Russians was admitted, was still called the *Victory of Eylau*, in this besotted region, till Lord Hutchinson declared, as a professional man, "that the victory of Eylau, was no victory to the Russians, who were generally unsuccessful, and unequal to the French in generals, in discipline, and every requisite, excepting courage."

But the circumstance which should have put the question beyond a doubt, was, that the French still kept the field; for it was the next Bulletin, dated Prussian Eylau, and Landsberg, that represented the French Grand Army retreating towards the Vistula, and the expediency of

going into winter quarters, for covering the line of that river. It also appeared, that the Russians had retired behind the Pregel, "beyond which the French had no interest in pursuing them."

Afterwards, a smart affair took place on the 16th, on the upper part of the Bug, between Marshal Lanne's division (then under the orders of General Savary,) and that of the Russian General Essen; when the Russians lost eight pieces of cannon, two standards, 1,200 prisoners, and left the field of battle covered with dead. The division of Lefebvre defeated a Prussian corps on the 12th, the remains of which effected its retreat to Dantzic.

About the beginning of March, several skirmishes had taken place. The whole of the French army was in cantonments. It occupied a line from Braunsberg to the Omelew, extending through Leibstadt, Guttstadt, Allenstein, and Neidenburg. It was provisioned, chiefly, by the towns of Elling and Braunsburg, and by the produce of the fertile Island of Nogat. The Russian army was concentrated on the side of Bartensteine, and on the Alle; the Prussian division on the side of Creutzbourg.

The investment of Dantzic was completed soon after, when the communication between that city and the sea was cut off. A Prussian out-post was surprised and routed, with the loss of several prisoners. In the evening, a strong corps from the garrison attempted, but unsuccessfully, to retake the post from which they had been expelled in the morning. In this effort, the Prussians lost several hundred prisoners, and some artillery.

The Message of Buonaparté, dated from Osterode, and laid before the French Senate, contained an order for calling out the Conscription for 1808. The reason given in the Message is, that "all the nations round are arming: England has again set on foot an extraordinary levy of 200,000 men. Other powers, as well as England, are adopting the measure of extraordinary levies."

In another part of the Message, it is stated, "We offered peace to England before the Fourth Coalition had shewn itself: *the same peace we offer to England still.*"—It likewise states, "We are ready to conclude a peace with Russia, upon the same conditions as were signed by her negotiator, but which were rejected in consequence of the arts and intrigues of the English. We are ready to restore to the eight millions of the inhabitants whom we have conquered, their tranquillity, and to restore to the King of Prussia his capital."

While Napoleon, and Prince Jerome, were employed in counteracting and annoying the enemy in Poland and Silesia, Marshals Lefebvre and Mortier, were not less active against Dantzic and Swedish Pomerania; but it was to no purpose that the French Emperor explicitly avowed his reluctance in carrying on a war against the Swedes; their monarch would listen to no terms; hence, the loss of Pomerania, and, probably, the whole of his dominions.

From the French Bulletin, dated Finkenstein, April 19th, we first learned the following secrets: "In the beginning of May, an army of observation consisting of 50,000 French and Spanish troops, will be assembled on the Elbe. Whilst Russia has assembled in Poland nearly the whole of her troops, there is only a part of the French military force in that country. This, however, is a consequence of the great difference which exists between the essential strength of the two countries. The 500,000 Russians, which the writers of newspapers made to march to the right, and again to the left, only exist in their papers, and in the imagination of some readers, who are the easier misled, by being shown the immense extent of the Russian territory, without the least mention of its extensive deserts and uncultivated districts.

"It is said, that the guards of the Emperor of Russia have reached the army: they will see, on the first meet-

ing, whether the Imperial guard is annihilated, as the enemy's generals have assured. That guard is now more numerous than ever, and almost double the number it was at Austerlitz."

In the latter end of May, the surrender of the important city of Dantzic took place, to the surprise of all military men, who could not account for the neglect of England, in omitting to throw in succours of men or ammunition. The garrison, originally 16,000 men, was reduced to 9,000; however, the Prussian General Kalkreuth, who commanded there, obtained very good terms from Marshal Lefebvre. The Emperor Napoleon granted a present to every soldier in the besieging army. From the moment that Dantzic surrendered, all hopes of co-operation on that side were lost; still the Allies were not yet dispirited. However, as the battle of Friedland put a full period to every inferior kind of warfare, we here refer to the Seventy-ninth Bulletin of the Grench Grand Army, dated Wehlau, June 17th. The Emperor gave orders to the Grand Duke of Berg, the Marshals Soult and Davoust, to manœuvre towards Koningsberg; and with the corps belonging to the Marshals Mortier, Ney, and Lannes, the Imperial guard, and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, he marched to Friedland in person. On the 14th, the Emperor reminded his troops that it was the anniversary of the victory of Marengo. Several engagements near Friedland occupied the morning, in which the Allies were worsted. At five in the afternoon, the whole of the hostile corps seemed ready for action. The enemy had deployed the whole of his army. His left was supported by the town of Friedland, and his right extended a league and a half beyond it. The Emperor, having reconnoitred the position, was determined to get possession of Friedland; he suddenly changed his front, and causing the right to advance, he ordered the attack to

be made by the extremity of the right wing. At half after five, Marshal Ney put himself in motion; some discharges from a battery of 20 pieces of cannon were the signal. At the same moment the division of General Marchand advanced against the enemy, taking their route by the steeple of the church. General Bisson's division supported their left. The moment the enemy perceived that Marshal Ney had quitted the wood, where he had at first taken a position with his right, they endeavoured to turn him with several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a cloud of Cossacks. General Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons formed immediately, advanced to the right in full gallop, and repelled the enemy's charge. In the meanwhile, General Victor ordered a battery of 30 pieces of cannon to be placed in the front of his centre. General Sennermont, who commanded this battery, caused it to be moved 400 paces in advance, by which the enemy sustained a dreadful loss. The different movements made by the Russians, to effect a diversion, were useless.—Several columns of the enemy's infantry, that attacked Marshal Ney's right, were charged with the bayonet, and driven into the Alle. Several thousands found their death in that river, and some escaped by swimming.

During the time Marshal Ney's left arrived at the ravine, which surrounds the town of Friedland; the enemy, who had here concealed the Russian Emperor's guard in an ambuscade, advanced with intrepidity, and charged Marshal Ney's left. This corps was for a moment shaken; but Dupont's division, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian imperial guard, routed them, and made a dreadful slaughter. The enemy drew several reinforcements from his centre, and other corps in reserve, to defend Friedland. Vain efforts! Friedland was forced, and its streets covered with dead bodies. At this moment the centre, com-

manded by Marshal Lannes, was engaged. The effort which the enemy had made at the extremity of the right of the French having failed, he wished to try a similar operation upon the centre; but the charges of cavalry and infantry could not retard the march of our columns; all the efforts of Russian bravery were useless; they could make no impression, but met death upon the points of our bayonets. The Imperial guard, horse and foot, and two divisions of the reserve of the first corps, were not engaged. Victory was never doubtful for a moment. The field of battle is one of the most dreadful that can be seen. It is not exaggeration to estimate the number killed, on the part of the Russians, from 15 to 18,000 men. On the part of the French, the loss does not exceed 500 killed, and 3,000 wounded. We have taken 80 pieces of cannon, and a great number of caissons. Several colours are in our hands. The Russians have had 25 generals killed, taken, and wounded: their cavalry has suffered an immense loss. Night did not prevent the pursuit of the enemy: he was followed till eleven o'clock. During the remainder of the night, the columns that were cut off endeavoured to pass the Alle in several fordable places. On the following day, for the space of several leagues, we found caissons, cannon and carriages lost in the river. The battle of Friedland is worthy to be compared with those of Marengo, Austerlitz, or Jena. The enemy was numerous, had a fine cavalry, and fought with courage. On the 15th, while the enemy was endeavouring to rally and retreat to the right bank of the Alle, the French army continued its manœuvres on the left bank, to cut the enemy off from Koningsberg. The heads of the columns arrived at Wehlau together; this town is situated at the confluence of the Alle and the Pregel. The Emperor's head-quarters were at Paterswalde.

On the 16th, at day-break, the enemy having de-

stroyed all the bridges, availed himself of this obstacle to continue his retrograde movements towards Russia. At eight in the morning, the Emperor caused a bridge to be thrown over the Pregel, and the army was again in its position. Almost all the enemy's magazines upon the Alle were burnt by him, or thrown in the water: we know, from what remains, the immense loss which has been sustained. In all the villages, where the Russians had magazines, they burnt them during their retreat. We found at Wehlau more than six thousand quintals of grain. The news of the victory of Friedland caused the enemy to abandon Koningsberg. Marshal Soult entered the city, where we have found immense riches; several hundred thousand quintals of corn, upwards of 20,000 wounded Russians and Prussians, all the warlike stores sent by the English for the Russians, and 150,000 muskets not unpacked. Thus, Providence has punished those who, instead of negotiating with good faith, to perfect the salutary work of peace, have made light of it, mistaking the calmness of the Conqueror for weakness or impotence.—The army here occupies the finest country imaginable. The borders of the Pregel are rich. In a short time the magazines and cellars of Koningsberg and Dantzic, will supply us with fresh means of health and abundance. The enemy re-commenced hostilities on the 5th. We may estimate the loss he has sustained in ten days, and in consequence of the succeeding operations, at 60,000 men, prisoners, killed, wounded, and disabled. He has lost a part of his artillery, almost all his ammunition, and all his magazines, upon a line upwards of forty leagues in extent. The French armies have seldom obtained such great success with so little loss.

The following Proclamation was issued soon after:

"SOLDIERS!

"On the 5th of June, we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found, too late, that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it. In the affairs of Guttstadt, Heilsberg, and the ever memorable one of Friedland, in a ten days campaign: in short, we took 120 pieces of cannon, 7 standards—killed, wounded, or took, 40,000 Russians—carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals—Koningsberg, the 300 vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, 150,000 fusils, sent by England to arm our enemies. From the banks of the Vistula, we have reached the borders of the Niemen with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the coronation; you celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the Second Coalition. Frenchmen! you have been worthy of yourselves and of me. You will return to France covered with laurels, and after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.

"At the Imperial Camp at Tilsit, June 22nd."

The Eighty-fifth and Eighty-sixth Bulletins, contain only the accounts of the meeting of Three Sovereigns on the Niemen. The conference between the Emperors of Russia and France, took place on the 24th, on a raft on the Niemen. Napoleon, attended by the Grand Duke of Berg, Prince of Neufchatel, Marshal Bessieres, Duroc, and Caulaincourt, proceeded to the banks of the Niemen, and went on board the vessel which was to take him to

the raft. The Emperor Alexander, with the Grand Duke Constantine, General Bennigsen, Ouwaroff, Prince Labanoff, and his first Adjutant, General Count Libben, put off from the opposite banks. The two vessels reached the raft at the same time. The Emperors embraced on leaving the vessels, and entered the pavilion prepared for them. Their conference lasted abou two hours, and when it closed the attendants of the two Emperors were admitted. Both Emperors returned to their vessels. Another interview took place the following day, on a little island in the Niemen, at which the King of Prussia was present.

On the 27th of June, the Emperor Napoleon exercised his foot-guards in firing, in the presence of the Emperor Alexander; after which the two Monarchs dined together. On the 28th, the King of Prussia, accompanied by Marshal Bessieres, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, the Grand Equerry, and several superior officers of the cavalry, came to pay a visit to the Emperor Napoleon, who received them at the gate. At four, the Emperor returned the visit to the King, and invited him to ride; and taking with him the Emperor of Russia, and the Grand Duke Constantine, proceeded with them to review the corps under Marshal Davoust. These august personages afterwards dined with the Emperor Napoleon. After rising from table, they passed a quarter of an hour together. The Emperor afterwards accompanied them to the gate of his palace, and they proceeded, on foot, to the residence of the King of Prussia. The Emperor of Russia and the Grand Duke Constantine returned, towards the evening, to the Emperor Napoleon, and remained with him till half after ten at night. The Emperor Napoleon received General Bennigsen, and Prince Kurakin, appointed to negotiate with the Prince of Benevento.

On the 1st of July, it was stated, that "the good un-

derstanding between the Three Sovereigns at Tilsit increases every day." The King of Prussia has appointed General Kalkreuth to negotiate for peace. Yesterday the French Emperor's guards treated the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia's life-guards with a dinner. The whole of them, for a short time, exchanged uniforms; and the soldiers were to be seen running cheerfully along the streets, but in good order.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Reflections on the Peace of Tilsit....Comparison made by Edmund Burke....Whether Buonaparté is the Hero of ancient Prophecies....Treaty of Tilsit....Reflections upon the Consequences of the French Power in the North.... Mr. Sheridan's Observations an the Character of Buonaparté as a General....Those of another independent Writer. ....The Observations of Thucydides, that "there was something Divine in the Plague of Athens," applied to the present War....Its Object, the Reformation of Christendom. ....On the political Application of the Term Omnipotence.

THE circumstances that followed the battle of Friedland, and the peace of Tilsit, naturally gave rise to some very singular reflections on this side of the ocean. The intimacy that began upon a raft in the *water*, the most unstable of the elements, it was justly apprehended, would be but too firmly established upon the earth, which is the most durable. It was, also, supposed, that when two men are conferring together on the footing of equality, and one of them known to have a manifest superiorty in genius and talents: and when great results were to issue from the conference, it could not be doubted to whose advantage such a conference would redound. If it is considered, that the one was born to an imperial throne, the other ascended one by his own efforts, his own genius, his own talents, aided by the circumstances of the times, the scale could not but preponderate in favour of him who was the founder of a family, against him who was not merely of a family, long cradled in notions of imperial dignity: and it was added, "that as the purple-born Emperor had been soundly beaten by the other Emperor, brought up in the swadling clothes of poverty,

and a very humble station of life, a tolerably good idea might be formed of this imperial conference."

But, though Napoleon had not set foot on the Russian borders, he was very near them. He had not long before driven a King from his palace; and the magnanimous Alexander might justly apprehend, that, if once the French set foot in his proper domains, they would fix a new dynasty on the thrones of Petersburgh and Moscow. The prowess of the Northern troops had been sufficiently tried; and, perhaps, it was not to be regretted that they did not make a better stand. Instead of relenting, it was suggested that the inhabitants of Southern Europe should have rejoiced, to think that the horrid horde of Russians, Tartars, Calmucs, &c. had received a lesson in civilization, and were found incapable of annoying the South, when the people are well disciplined, and and conducted by leaders of ability. The French, it was remarked, had first beaten and then treated them; by which means they had a specimen of the difference, after a battle between a freeman and a slave.

As at Austerlitz, as well as at Jena, Eylau, and Friedland, Buonaparté always entertained the idea, that he was only fighting with the mercenaries, the hired troops of England; and as he well knew that the wealth of the latter was the real sinews of the war, there can be no doubt, but that while at Tilsit, he made his future *friendship* with the Emperor of Russia depend, from that moment, upon his *enmity* to England. From that moment an interested, if not a solid friendship, commenced between the Two Emperors. Alexander interceded for Prussia; but, though he took the conquered King to dine with the Victor, (prudently leaving the Queen out of the party,) very little indeed could be obtained for him. If the magnanimous Russian Emperor gave her a full account of the dinner, it was a very different day from that which he spent at Berlin, a year before, with his brother of Prussia, over the remains of the great Frederick: they no

longer talked of the ease with which they would drive the French to the extremity of the earth; but, being the guests of one greater by far than the Great Frederick ever was, they submitted to the influence of superior talents, superior industry, and superior power.

After this great event, it was asked, What Mr. Edmund Burke would have thought, could he have arisen from the dead? How could he account for such a change in that France, which he conceived "was blotted out of the map of Europe?" France sunk to the ground, deprived of its King, its nobles, its clergy, its lawyers, with nothing on its surface worthy of notice, had revived, under one man. In the short space of one year, under a man whom nobody knew, she had done more than she performed with the best-born nobles during the long life of the great Louis XIVth. France, it was again observed, which the dull or frantic politicians of England had blotted out of the map of Europe, after the conference at Tilsit, gave law and reigned lord paramount. The present exceeded the past. Speaking of Napoleon, an able and discriminating political writer observed, "The early victories of this wonderful man placed him on a level with the greatest commanders this world has seen: To whom shall we now compare him?" The passage of the Alps, and the battle of Marengo; the battle of Austerlitz, and the campaign which led to it; the battles of Jena and Friedland, with the concluding conference at Tilsit: these are battles, and subversions of kingdoms, that, as long as military glory is the theme of general applause, must elevate the Hero of France high above his predecessors in the same career. A Louis XV. and a Louis XVI. were greeted with acclamations, but what must have been those acclamations, those shouts of applause, when Napoleon returned to Paris, after accomplishing what the ambition of Louis XIV. could never conceive! If he is our enemy, we cannot enviously pluck from his brow his justly acquired laurels. The

claims he has on the gratitude of France are undoubted: from the lowest state of confusion he has raised her to the highest pitch of glory.

But is there not something more in these exploits than the superficial observer acknowledges? This change in the state of Europe, is it not connected with events which may call the attention of all mankind? Without endeavouring to find the Hero in ancient prophecies, as some have done,* and we will not say they have done it injudiciously; without implicitly relying on those, who assure us that he is the *man on the white cloud,* in the Revelations, *with a golden crown on his head, and a sharp sickle in his hand, to reap the harvest of the earth:* without committing ourselves to declare, that he is the angel of God, commissioned for high and important purposes, (though it is to be noticed, that the moral qualities of the agent do not prohibit that epithet being applied to him:) whatever he may be, we cannot doubt that, through him, Europe has undergone a great change; and, whatever may have been the cost of it, the consequences are such, as will lead the rising generation to estimate themselves, and their fellow creatures, in a very different manner from what they have been accustomed to do for the last twelve hundred and fifty (prophetical) years. One circumstance (here the freedom of religion established, in Warsaw, after the peace of Tilsit, is alluded to) is particulary noticed. "Wherever Buonaparté has gone religious intolerance has fled before him. Freedom of religion has been established by him at home, and it is made a part of the terms of peace with other nations. Poland had been torn to pieces by religious dissensions. In that country the reformation was carried further by that eminent body of martyrs, the Polish brethren, than Luther and Calvin, and their adherents, would acknowledge. The Polish brethren hated tyranny over them-

* This is an allusion to "The Causes and Consequences of the French Emperor's Conduct towards the Jews,"

selves, and they would not tyrannize over others. It is not to be wondered at, that Popish zeal and barbarity should plot and accomplish their ruin, and that some Calvinists should rejoice at it; for the Polish brethren abominated the cruelty of Calvin, in the murder of Servetus, as much as if it had been committed by Popish priests. The decree of Buonaparté, by which Warsaw is erected into a Dutchy, establishes completely the freedom of religion, and the successors of the Polish brethren may now worship, without fear or restraint, the God of their Saviour. The circumstance of religious freedom springing up from France may justly astonish us. This country had been, above all others, noted for its cruelty against the Protestants. The Day of St. Bartholomew, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, presented scenes at which humanity shudders. France has nobly wiped away these stigmas by the freedom in religion, which it has not only established in its own dominions, but has introduced into so many other countries on the continent. Spain and Portugal will soon feel the effect of this disposition in Buonaparté; and as the Inquisition has been for some time deprived of much of its authority, we may expect to hear it is entirely abolished, and all its trumpery of monks and nuns driven away as completely as it has been done in France. The English nation will longer retain the prejudice. We did not reform the Calendar, till the shame of ignorance forced us into it; and, though we profess to be Protestants, we shall be the last, probably, to acknowledge, that a difference in religious opinions is no reason for a difference in civil rights; and that there is no connexion between eating bread and drinking wine in a church, with certain ceremonies, and the occupancy of a post in the army, the navy, or the law." Thus far the political writer.

It was not till August 1807, that we obtained a sight of the Treaty of Tilsit, and that which was also concluded between Prussia and France. By this Treaty, signed

at Tilsit on the 9th of July, it is stipulated, that the territories to be restored to Prussia are those which she possessed so far back as the year 1772. She, of course, loses her Polish provinces, except a small tract, and is also deprived of Westphalia; which latter territory, with the addition of those already in the possession of France, between the Rhine and the Elbe, including the Electorate of Hanover, forms a new kingdom, of which his Prussian Majesty acknowledges Jerome Buonaparté a Sovereign, by the title of *King of Westphalia.*

To these provinces the unfortunate King of Prussia renounces all right and title for ever, together with his title to the provinces he cedes in Poland; which are to be formed into a dutchy, under the sovereignty of the King of Saxony.

His Prussian Majesty, also, renounces, for ever, his possession of the city of Dantzic; and the other parts of the Prussian provinces of Poland, not otherwise disposed of, are given to Russia. Dantzic is to be restored to its former independence, under the protection of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony; but its port is to be shut against the trade of Great Britain during the war.

It is also provided, that, until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the dominions remaining to Prussia shall be shut against the trade and navigation of Great Britain; that no shipment whatever is to be made from any Prussian port for the British isles or colonies; and that no ship from Great Britain, or her colonies, shall be admitted into any Prussian port.

The King of Prussia acknowledges Joseph Buonaparté King of Naples, and Louis Buonaparté King of Holland. A part of the Polish territory, hitherto held by Prussia, and next adjoining the Russian boundaries, is for ever to be incorporated with the Russian Empire.

The treaty consists of thirty articles.

The ratifications of this treaty were exchanged on the 12th of July.

It is estimated that Prussia loses near five millions of subjects, and a third of her revenues. Hesse Brunswick, besides different parts of the Prussian spoils on the left bank of the Elbe, are included in Jerome Buonaparté's new kingdom.

"The treaty, which was signed at Tilsit the 7th of July, contains twenty-nine articles. The first twelve merely repeat, confirm, and ratify, on the part of Russia, the stipulations of the Russian treaty, particulary as to the disposal of Polish Prussia; the allowance of a military road to communicate between Saxony and Warsaw; and the restoration of the estates of the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg Schwerin. The Emperor of Russia, as in the Prussian treaty, acknowledges Buonaparté's brothers; Louis King of Holland; Joseph King of Naples; and his Imperial Highness Prince Jerome, King of Westphalia.—Alexander likewise assents to the confederation of the Rhine, and to the present and future arrangements of Buonaparté; in which, it is to be observed, he actually consents to take a part of those very territories of his own ally, the King of Prussia, which he had undertaken to defend! The 13th article is that of the greatest interest to an English reader. By it 'the Emperor Napoleon accepts of the mediation of the Emperor of all the Russias to negotiate and conclude a definitive treaty of peace between France and England; however, only upon condition that this mediation shall be accepted by England in one month after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.' The 15th article contains an unimportant cession, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, to the King of Holland; viz. the Lordship of Jever, in East Friesland. Four of the articles stipulate, that hostilites shall cease between the Russians and Turks, that the troops of the former shall be withdrawn from Moldavia, but not occupied by

the troops of the Grand Seignior till after ratifications of a definitive treaty between those powers have been exchanged; and, finally, the Emperor of Russia accepts the mediation of the Emperor of France, to negotiate a peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. The remaining articles establish the commercial intercourse between the different countries, under Buonaparté, on the same footing as before the war; regulate the exchange of prisoners to be in a mass; and fix the ceremonial between the two Courts of Saint Petersburgh and the Thuilleries on the footing of complete equality and reciprocity."

The advantages which the French Emperor obtained by these treaties, which enabled him to hold all the North of Europe, and the shores of the Baltic in his power, till the period of a general peace, are, as yet, incalculable. A year has nearly elapsed, and, instead of diminishing, as some venal and short-sighted politicians have vainly imagined, his power has increased; and, in the summer of 1808, is still increasing. As a warrior, we have nearly exhausted all the variety of language that can be drawn from panegyric: we must, therefore, add, from another English writer, "that the man must know Buonaparté's character very imperfectly, who shall consider him only at the head of armies; he has shone as conspicuously in the cabinet as in the field. In a word, he united in his own person, the various talents and professions of the sword, the gown, and the finances."

Mr. Sheridan, in the session of 1804, also observed, that "for boldness of design, and ingenuity of execution, the campaigns of Buonaparté surpassed any thing attempted since the days of Hannibal." He was a general of whom it might be said, in the words of Cicero, "his youthful knowledge, in military affairs, was not derived from the precepts of others, but the command of his own genius; whose renown arose not from the assaults he sustained, but from his own victories over others, and

of whose rewards we hear much less than of his triumphs."

Another writer, whose *independent* principles cannot be questioned, looking back to the victories of Jena and Friedland, and the consequences of the treaty of Tilsit, observes, "The success of the French arms has been attributed to a variety of causes; but we have traced every step of the French Emperor in the cabinet as well as in the field. If we revolve in our minds the line of conduct he has adopted, these five years past, we may say, "He is Aristippus all over, both in his manner and in his disposition." Equally prepared for every change of circumstances, he is ever energetic, from his firmness, his decision, and promptitude of action. Our opinion is, that, in a short time, he will establish his empire from the Dardanelles and the Hellespont to the Baltic; and that he will be equally obeyed at Copenhagen and Constantinople. He surrenders no implicit confidence to his ministers, he thinks and acts for himself, and thus escapes falling a victim to the imbecility or intrigues of his own servants. The people of France do not trace him to the horse-race, the gaming-table, or trifling with his favourite lady, or superintending the erection of stables: they find him in the cabinet or the field, alternately, as occasion may require, equally displaying the consummate genius of a statesman or a warrior. The history of nations scarcely exhibits a parallel to the talents he is endowed with; and can it be a matter of astonishment, that the stability of the government of such a man should daily acquire additional strength and permanence?"

But this is not all: as Thucydides observed, *there was something Divine in the Plague of Athens;* so it has been the object of the concluding part of this History to point out *something Divine,* a singular interference of Providence in the present war, and the character apparently designed to conduct it to its issue. Mere political spe-

culation has not had, nor can have, any conception of its causes or consequences. In a religious view, nothing less than the reformation of Christendom seems to be its ultimate object and its primary design. If the thinking and judicious reader can yet have any doubt upon this head, let him consider, that, within the course of the last sixteen years, the ancient kingdom of France has been extinguished; together with the Gallician Church, the Pontificate, the Germanic Empire, the whole support of the hierarchy, both spiritual and temporal; including several Protestant kingdoms and states, which had entered into successive coalitions against France. In the meanwhile, the Roman Church has been radically reformed; all the dominions of the ecclesiastical princes secularized; celibacy, monasteries, and other religious foundations, abolished; the Protestant religion put upon the same footing with the Catholic: and, lastly, the Jews politically and morally restored to the free exercise and enjoyment of all those rights, civil and religious, of which they had, for many ages, been deprived in our countries! We have talked of the omnipotence of parliament, and the adaptation of such an attribute may be allowed, as a figure of speech, for a very great portion of power or influence; but, when we take a retrospective view of the changes that have lately been effected in Europe, and the amelioration that is likely to ensue; when we contemplate the character of the principal Agent, without any abuse of the word, we may assert, that, since OMNIPOTENCE pronounced the commanding fiat, "*Let there be light, and there was light,*" this Agent has had neither superior nor equal.

THE END OF CHAP. XXXVIII.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Further Observations on the Treaty of Tilsit....The Address of the Arch-Chancellor of the French Empire on laying the Two Treaties before the Senate, which had been concluded between Russia and Prussia....The President, M. Lacepede's Reply, after the Reading of the same.... Offer of Mediation on the Part of Russia....Lord Hutchinson's Conversation with the Emperor Alexander on that Subject....Danish Expedition....Admiral Gambier's and Lord Cathcart's Operations at Copenhagen, and joint Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Zealand....Declaration of the Court of Denmark....Spirited Answer of the Crown Prince to Mr. Jackson, the British Minister....General Peyman's heroic and dignified Answer to the Summons from the British Commanders to surrender.

THE treaty of Tilsit, with which we concluded our last Chapter, and on which we shall indulge some retrospective remarks, has yielded no pacific terms in favour of England, that its government thought proper to accept, although it professed to secure to them that desirable object, through the mediation of the Emperor of Russia. We have therefore, to lament, that the sword of British valor still remains unsheathed against the combined forces of Europe, several of whom have deserted her, and united themselves to France, notwithstanding the many millions it has cost the British nation to purchase their friendship and co-operation. What, alas! has proved the fruits of her subsidizing measures to reduce the overwhelming power and influence of Buonaparté? Has not the gigantic strides of his conquests, and of his subjugating force, been encreased and even accelerated by the very means it has employed to reduce and frus-

trate them? Not a guinea has England furnished to those Sovereigns whose battles she has fought, but what has, eventually, found its way into the public or private coffers of the French Emperor. Yet they continue to amuse themselves with vain projects and idle delusions.

But we will now proceed to the more regular series of public events, as interwoven with the subject of our history.

No sooner was the treaty of Tilsit ratified and exchanged between the Emperor of France and Russia, than the latter commenced his overtures as a mediator between his Britannic Majesty and the French Emperor; but under such circumstances as served, in some measure, to awaken the most lively suspicions on the part of their ministers, that these overtures were only intended to trick them into some renewed negotiations for a general peace, which, like all their former ones, would end in disappointment. It was well known that the Emperor of Russia had himself, unfortunately, retired from the contest after two years perseverance in the war, without any of the *laurels of victory;* although he has not been so great a sufferer, perhaps, by the treaty of Tilsit, as his ally, the King of Prussia, whose conquered dominions, on the part of France, have been, in a certain portion, transferred to his possession by Buonaparté; and which he accepted, notwithstanding his plighted oath of friendship to his Prussian Majesty, over the tomb of Frederick the Great; an act that cannot fail to sully his royal reputation, even in the estimation of his own subjects.

By the cession of the Prussian territory, Buonaparté has accomplished a most important object. He has not only curtailed that once puissant kingdom of its future means of annoyance, but has purchased, with her dismemberment, the friendship and alliance of Russia; nor is this all the advantage the superiority of his arms have acquired for him on this occasion. His brother, Jerome Buonaparté has, also, as King of Westphalia, gained a

farther accession of territory and regal sway, while the domains of Saxony have reverted back to her antient dukedom, under the new sovereignty of its present King, together with the Dutchy of Warsaw.

On the 25th of July, 1807, the Prince Archchancellor of the Empire laid the two treaties before the Senate, accompanied with the following Speech:

"GENTLEMEN.

"The rapidity of the conquests, obtained by his Majesty the Emperor and King, offer the most certain indications of a glorious peace.

"Our hopes have been fulfilled by the two treaties which I have laid before you; it was his Majesty's wish that they should not be made public before this communication had taken place.

"The Senate will gratefully acknowledge his Majesty's prudence in withholding the treaties hitherto, and will consider it as a new proof of the respect entertained by our illustrious Prince, for our laws and customs, and of his zeal for their support.

"Among the grand events which these political negociations will produce, there is one by which your lively feelings will be affected. As you are so firmly attached to the glory of the Imperial Dynasty, how great must be your gratification, gentlemen, to behold the constant increase of its lustre, raising a young Prince to the throne of Westphalia, whose wisdom and courage have lately been so conspicuous in military exploits!

"You will find in this stipulation, as well as in the others contained in those treaties, the constant attention of the founder of the empire, to confirm the grand system, of which he has laid the foundation.

"Your hearts will hail with joy the conceptions of a genius, who is the friend of humanity, and whose views and cares are solely directed to the object of preventing the effusion of human blood.

"The continent may, at length, congratulate itself on

the acquisition of a stable peace. The memorable conferences, which have taken place on the Banks of the Niemen, are the pledges of a durable tranquillity. The relations of esteem and confidence which have been established between the Sovereigns of the two most powerful nations of Europe, afford us a guarantee, against which all the attempts of rancour and jealousy shall henceforth prove abortive."

After the treaties had been read, the President, M. Lacepede, replied as follows:—

"Sir,—The reading of the two treaties, which his Majesty the Emperor and King has been pleased to communicate through your Highness, have occasioned the Senate to experience new feelings of the most lively astonishment and gratitude.

"After so rich a harvest of glory; after so many prodigies, and so many multiplied acts of benevolence, the Senate feels, more than ever, the necessity of offering its devotion to his Imperial Majesty.

"The Senate is sensible that, in common with all the French, they will partake of the good fortune of enjoying the inestimable presence of the greatest of Monarchs. Till that period, days, hours, and even moments, are ages of just impatience.

"I therefore demand, senators, first, that you shall confirm the signing of the treaty with Russia, and treaty with Prussia, in his name.

"Secondly, that a special committee shall be charged to prepare and deliver an address, expressive of those feelings of affection and loyalty with which the Senate are so deeply penetrated."

Both the propositions of Senator Lacepede were unanimously adopted.

The committee charged with preparing the address, consisted of his Eminence Cardinal Fesch, the senators

Lacepede, Monge, Laplace, and Semonville. On Monday the 27th. inst. they delivered their report.

Consistently with the orders transmitted by his Majesty the Emperor and King, to his Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and the Heralds at Arms, were ordered to proclaim the signing of peace with Russia and Prussia at Paris. This proclamation was made with great solemnity by the Heralds at Arms, on the 24th in the afternoon, at five o'clock. The Heralds were on horseback, and accompanied by a great number of troops.

The concourse of people on this occasion was uncommonly great: the public joy was manifested by the most lively feelings, and the repeated acclamations of "Long live the Emperor."

A general illumiation took place in the evening.

Such was the joyful sensations, such the patriotic effusions afforded by the negociations at Tilsit, to the Senate and inhabitants of the French empire. How differently were those tidings received by the English nation. Their former magnanimous ally, the Emperor of Russia, was execrated as having betrayed the dearest interest of his country, in his abandonment of their's. Even before it was known what steps he had taken to abridge the horrors of war, and exclude its further depopulating ravages from the confines of his own empire, the public prints, and their ministerial supporters, considered him as having sold himself to Buonaparté. Whatever was treacherous, selfish, mean, and ignoble, were included in the epithets, with which he was then honoured.

The professed mediation on the part of Russia to adjust the contest and dispute with France, was officially communicated to the British government on the 1st of August, in a Note from M. Alopeus, the Russian Ambassador, to Mr. Canning; in which, after adverting to the Treaty of Peace concluded at Tilsit, on the 7th of July,

between Russia and France, it proceeds to state, "That his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, having on that occasion proposed his mediation for the purpose of negociating and concluding also a Treaty of Peace between England and France, and which had been accepted by the Emperor Napoleon, the object of the present Note was to offer it in the like manner to his Majesty the King of Great Britain.

"Knowing the pacific sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias flattered himself the more, that he will embrace this opportunity of restoring peace to all nations, and of insuring repose to the present generation. His Imperial Majesty, from the conversations he had held with the Emperor of the French, had reason to be convinced that he was sincerely desirous of the re-establishment of a Maritime Peace, upon equitable principles."

It also farther adds, "that the Emperor of all the Russias not only offers his interpositson for the attainment of so desirable a result, but would even be ready to promise the support of all the forces of his empire, for *insuring the performance* of all the stipulations of peace, when once it shall have taken place between England and France. By this Guarantee, his Britannic Majesty will obtain that which he has ever appeared to desire, and may, without distrust, follow the bent of his humane and pacific sentiment."

On the 5th inst. Mr. Canning, on the behalf of the British government, replied to the foregoing communication as follows: "That he has it in command from the King his master, to declare that the Emperor of Russia does justice to the sentiments of the King, when his Imperial Majesty expresses his reliance on the King's disposition to contribute to the restoration of a general Peace, such as many ensure the repose of Europe. That proofs of this disposition have recently been afforded by his Majesty in the answer returned to the offer of the

mediation of the Emperor of Austria, as well as in his Majesty's willingness to accede to the convention concluded at Bartenstein, on the 23d of April, between the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia: and also in the instructions given to his Majesty's Ambassador at the court of St. Petersburgh, after the disastrous events in Poland; by which instructions that Ambassador was directed to signify to the ministers of the Emperor of Russia, his Majesty's readiness to enter, in concert with his august ally, into any negotiation which the Emperor of Russia might think it expedient to open for a general Peace. These sentiments, and this disposition, his Majesty continues invaribly to maintain.

"His Majesty, therefore, waits with the utmost solicitude for the communication of the Articles of the Treaty concluded at Tilsit, and for the statement of those equitable and honourable principles, upon which his Imperial Majesty expresses his belief that France is desirous of concluding a peace with Great Britain.

"His Majesty trusts that the *character of the stipulations* of the Treaty of Tilsit, and the principles upon which France is represented as being ready to negotiate, may be found such as to afford a just hope of the attainment of a secure and honourable Peace. In that case his *Majesty* will readily avail himself of the offer of the Emperor of Russia's mediations. But until his Majesty shall be in possession of these important and necessary communications, a more specific answer to the Note, presented by M. Alopeus, cannot at present be returned."

From this letter we may cleraly perceive that his Majesty's ministers were not very desirous to avail themselves of any *prospects* of a Peace founded on the preceding overture of mediation; and which, though they did not positively reject, they found ample means to evade. They contended they could not listen to any offers of a pacific nature, that appeared to them in so questionable a shape; and somewhat arrogantly insisted that all the

secret stipulations, connected with the Treaty of Tilsit should be first fully made known and explained to them, notwithstanding it had, in some measure, been satisfactorily ascertained, through the personal conversations of Lord Hutchinson with the Emperor of Russia, that the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, in which his Imperial faith was pledged to Buonaparté, that they contained nothing inimical to the real dignity and interest of England.

In one of these conversations to which we allude, his Imperial Majesty declared he had offered his mediation to England, not from any motive of false vanity, but from a sincere and anxious wish, that *England should make Peace;* as he was sure, *that it was his interest,* and also that of *Europe, and their's,* that we should restore tranquillity to the world. Lord Hutchinson then observed, that his Imperial Majesty had not given sufficient time for England to accept or reject his mediation, because a much longer period than a month must elapse, before any answer could be received; and though the disposition of his own mind inclined towards Peace, he could not accept of it, but on conditions the most reasonable and honourable.

To this his Imperial Majesty made answer, "that the time allowed was of no importance, because we might take three or four months, if we pleased, to accept or reject his mediation, but his anxious wish and desire was, that we should make Peace. That he had a perfect knowledge of the feelings and character of the people of England; that he had been made acquainted by *Buonaparté with the conditions of Peace proposed to be offered,* and that he had no doubt that they would be considered highly reasonable and honourable."

Some conferences of a more confidential nature followed, which his Lordship did not feel himself at liberty to disclose; but from what had passed, and what he had already stated, he felt justified in believing that the re-

lations of peace and amity, might have been preserved between the two countries.

But another event soon occured, that quickly extinguished every hope of Peace, and changed even the friendly disposition of the Emperor of Russia towards England, into the most hostile sentiments and measures. We mean the result of their blood-stained Expedition to Copenhagen, which has been as much reprobated by the generous feelings of the British nation at home, as it has been execrated by their enemies abroad.

The causes of this Expedition can only be sought in the folly and wildness of their ministerial conjectures, that a plan had been secretly devised by Buonaparté, in the Treaty of Tilsit, for the seizure of the Danish Fleet, for the purpose of invading Great Britain and Ireland; a plan we have not sufficient faith to give any credit to, since it can in no obvious, or even latent direction, be traced.

The British Government, however, thought proper and expedient to frustrate this imaginary *plan*, and to wrest from the hands of the unsuspecting Danes, every possible means of annoyance, as well as of their own self-defence.

In this highly honourable and meritorious service, Admiral Gambier, with a powerful squadron, consisting of 195 sail, including transports, and Lieutenant General Lord Cathcart, with a suitable number of land forces*, were dispatched about the middle of July to the Baltic,

* The English forces under Admiral Gambier, Rear Admiral J. Stanhope, and Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, consisted of the following ships of the line. Prince of Wales, 98 guns; Pompee, Centaur, Alfred, Ganges, Captain, Goliah, Orion, Hercules, Vanguard, Spencer, Brunswick, and Maida, of 74 guns; Nassau, Dictator, and Ruby, of 64 guns; eight frigates, 13 sloops of war, and one bomb vessel. The second division, under Admiral Russell, consisted of the following ships of the line; Minotaur, Majestic, Mars, Defence, Resolution, and Valiant, of 74 guns; the Cayenne of 22 guns; Hussar of 38 guns, and five brigs.

The land forces consisted of the German Legion, having about

and arrived off Elsineur about the 14th of August, when arrangements were made for the disembarkation of their troops, which was effected on the morning of the 16th, at Wybeck, a village about mid-way between Elsineur and Copenhagen.

To convince the inhabitants of Zealand, that the sudden appearance of a British fleet, and army, before their Capital, was only dictated by the apprehensions their government had been led to entertain of the designs of Buonaparté, and of his increased confederacy with the continental powers, since the treaties of Tilsit; as well as to demonstrate their *modest and pacific intentions* in only claiming the surrender of the Danish Navy, as an hostage for preserving and adhering to its former neutrality, these commanders, Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, jointly issued the following

PROCLAMATION:

"Whereas the present treaties of Peace, and the changes of government and of territory, acceded to by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of neutral powers from being turned against them:—In this view, the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference; and his Majesty has sent negotiators, with ample powers, to his Danish Majesty, to request in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the farther mischiefs which the French meditate through the acquisition of the Danish navy. The King our royal and

10 regiments each of 1,000 men, a corps of riflemen, a brigade of Guards of 2,400 men, 8 companies of Artillery, and about 15 regiments of the line; giving a total of 27,000 men.

most gracious master, has, therefore, judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports.—This deposit seems to be so just and so indispensably necessary, under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself, and to his people, to support this demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most active and determined enterprize.—We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand! not as enemies, but in self-defence; to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe, from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us.—We ask deposit, we have not looked to capture; so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and is hereby renewed in the name, and at the express command of the King our master, that if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark shall, at the conclusion of a general Peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment, as when received under the protection of the British flag.—It is in the power of of your government, by a word, to sheath our sword, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and a bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and on those of your cruel advisers.—His Majesty's seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on the footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war.—The persons of all those who remain at home, and who do not take an hostile part, will be held sacred.—Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced.—Every article of supply furnished or brought to market, will be paid

for at a fair and settled price; but as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provision, forage, fuel, and transports, are neceessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced.—Much inconvenience will arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts, to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom, claims for payment may be settled and liquidated.—If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions shall be addressed to them, through the proper channels, and departments of the navy and army; but as forbearance, on the part of the inhabitants, is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations; and any peasants or other persons, found in arms, singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with rigour.

"The government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refussed to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a war-like attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard."

The sensations produced on the minds and feelings of the *noble* Danes, by the foregoing Proclamation, may be easily conceived by those, who have not yet learnt to mingle insult with a just sense of commiseration—so every way due to their sufferings. Even the Gothic ages of barbarism, can scarcely furnish a parallel to the unprovoked outrage committed, by the authority of the British government, on the rights of an independent and unoffending nation. They proposed to approach the shores

of Zealand, *not as enemies*, while they had previously armed themselves, with every devastating means, to accomplish, if necessary, to their *anticipated fears*, its and their total destruction.

The Declaration which followed on the part of Denmark we cannot here omit, as it is replete with the justice and energy which are the characteristics of a brave but injured people; and what will tend more fully to illustrate the subject before us.

DANISH DECLARATION.

"All Europe is accquainted with the system which Denmark has followed, during a period of fifteen years of war and disturbance, with unceasing perseverance. The rigid observance of a free and impartial neutrality, and the conscientious fulfilment of all the duties belonging thereunto, have formed the object of all its wishes and all its efforts. The Danish government, in its relations and connections with other States, has never lost sight of that simplicity, which was inseparable from the purity of its sentiments and its love of peace, and which it cannot be suspected of having once changed or debilitated. Hitherto Providence has blessed our undertakings. Without injustice, without any ground of reproach from any of the other powers, we succeeded in keeping up a good understanding with the whole of them. This state of peace and tranquillity is suddenly annihilated. The English government, after having long neglected its own interest by a shameful inactivity, and after having betrayed its allies into a vexatious and uncertain struggle, has suddenly developed all its power and activity to attack a neutral and peacable state, without any complaint against the same. The means for dissolving the ancient and sacred connections which united Denmark to Great Britain, have been prepared with as much secresy as promptitude. The Danish government saw the English ships of war upon their coast, without even the conjecture

that they were to be employed against Denmark! The island of Zealand was surrounded, the capital threatened, and the Danish territory violated and injured, before the court of London had made use of a single word to express the hostility of its feelings. This hostility, however, soon became evident: Europe will with difficulty believe what it will hear! The basest, the most violent and cruel object which could ever have been taken up, has no other foundation than some pretended information, or rather, that of a mere rumour of an attempt, which, according to the English ministry, was to have taken place, in order to draw Denmark into an hostile alliance against Great Britain.

"Upon these pretended grounds, which the least degree of discussion immediately would have shewn as being founded on arbitrary measures alone, the English government declared to the court of Denmark, in the most imperious manner, that in order to secure its own interests, and to provide for its own safety, it could leave Denmark no other choice than a war, or a close alliance with Great Britain. And what kind of alliance did they offer? An alliance, the first guarantee of which, as a pledge of the subjection of Denmark, was to have delivered up all her ships of war to the British government. There could be no hesitation as to the alternative that was to be adopted. This opening being made, as scandalous in its offers as in its menaces— as offensive in the manner as in the thing itself—left no room for negotiating. The most justifiable and rooted disdain naturally absorbed every other feeling. Placed between danger and dishonour, the Danish government had no choice. The war commenced: Denmark was by no means blind to the dangers, to the losses, with which she was threatened by this war. Attacked in the most unexpected and dishonourable manner, exposed in a separate province, and in a manner cut off from all means of defence, and forced into an unequal contest, she could not flatter herself with escaping a very material injury. Unspotted honour, however

still remained for her to defend, as well as that reputation which she had earned as the price of her upright conduct. Denmark, therefore, flatters herself that, on the part of the powers of Europe, she will not appeal in vain. Let impartial cabinets judge whether England was under the political necessity of sacrificing another state, without hesitation, to her own safety, a state which had neither offended nor provoked her. Depending upon the justice of her cause, trusting in Providence, and in the love and loyalty of the people to a Prince, whose mild sceptre, under Providence, is swayed over a united, brave, and faithful people, the Danish government flatters itself that it will be able to acquit itself without weakness, of the hard and painful task which has been imposed upon it by necessity. The government of Denmark believes it has a right to reckon upon the interest and justice of the cabinets of Europe, and they particularly hope for the efforts of the same on the part of those illustrious Sovereigns, whose object and alliances have served the English for a pretext, and to give a colour to the most crying act of injustice, and whose object is to offer to England the means of making a general atonement for an act of violence, which, even in England, every noble and generous mind will disown; which deforms the character of a virtuous Sovereign, and will ever remain a scandal in the annals of Great Britain."

In the meanwhile every possible endeavour was used by our Envoy, Mr. Jackson, with the Prince Royal of Denmark, to get him to acceed, without any compulsive force, to the *moderate propositions* of the British Government, to deposit his Navy in some British port, on the pledged security of their faith to restore it, whenever a general Peace should take place. His answer to such a demand, was equally dignified and spirited: "History," said he, "has afforded no example of such an unjust attack as that with which Denmark is threatened, and

that in future more good faith would be expected from the Algerine pirates than from the English government.

"You propose an alliance," said the Prince, "but we are too well acquainted with the nature of your alliances; your allies who have been waiting, in vain, for your assistance throughout the whole year, have taught us what we have to expect from your alliances." All attempts, therefore, at an amicable negotiation for the *surrender* of the *Danish Navy* having failed, the British Minister demanded, and received his passport.

It appears by the Danish accounts, that on the landing of the British troops at Zealand, not a ship was rigged, and that most of the crews were on leave of absence, while the major part of their army was in Holstein. Their regular force, consisting only of 200 dragoons, 10 hussars, 300 artillery and 3,000 infantry. The military amounted to 2,000, of the armed burghers 400 were yagers, 1,200, artillery, and 2,000 infantry; a force scarcely sufficient to defend the town, and which could, by no means, oppose the landing of the enemy. On the 16th of August a flag of truce was received from Major-General Peyman, Commander-in-Chief in Copenhagen, requesting passports for the two princesses, nieces to his Danish Majesty, to go from Copenhagen to Colding, which were granted.

"17th.—At day-break the army marched by their right in three columns, to invest the town, two brigades of the German Legion remaining at Charlottenford to cover the disembarkation of the cavalry and park artillery.—The Princesses of Denmark came out of the city on their route to Colding, and were received with the honours due to their rank by the brigade of Guards, near the palace of Fredericksberg. The picquets of their left, towards the town, were attacked about noon; at the same time the enemy's gun-boats rowed out of the harbour, and cannonaded the left of the line with grape and round

shot. The picquets drove in and pursued the enemy, and resumed their posts.

"18th.—At day-break the gun-boats renewed the attack upon the gun-brigs, trusting to the superior weight of the guns. The latter having during the night exchanged their carronades for eighteen-pounders, the gun boats retired, but advanced again with increased numbers; after cannonading for some time, they were driven in, together with their field pieces, which had advanced upon the road.

"19th.—The works carried on by parties of 600 men, relieved every four hours. The gun-boats attacked at day-break, but were driven off. Some of the pipes were discovered, which convey fresh water to the town from Emdrup. The frigate and gun-brigs, having a favourable breeze, took their station near the entrance of the harbour, within reach of throwing shells into the town. —Brigadier General Decken surprised and took the post of Fredericksworк, commanded by a major, aid-de-camp to the Crown Prince, who capitulated with 850 men and officers, with a foundry and depot of cannon and powder. His Danish Majesty's household, with part of his wardrobe, plate, wine, and books, were suffered to come out of the town, to follow his Majesty, (who has withdeawn to Colding:) passports having been requested.

"20th.—Farther progress made in the works.—More ordnance landed and mounted. A patrol on the left having reported that a body of cavalry, with a corps of infantry in their rear, had been sent in front of Roesklide, Col. Rœden sent a squadron to reconnoitre them, which found them assembled near that place, and immediately charged and put them to flight, leaving 16 or 18 men killed, 3 prisoners and 29 horses.—The dragoons pursued the enemy to the gates of Roesklide, where they were received by a heavy fire of infantry, and returned to their quarters.

"21st.—Lord Rosslyn's corps disembarked in the

north part of Keoge Bay, with two batteries of artillery. —Progress made in cutting off the water. Further arrangements made with the gentlemen of the country.— Passports granted to Prince Frederick Ferdinand of Denmark and his preceptor. Notice given that no more passports can be granted; and a recommendation urged to the Danish Commander, to consider the dreadful consequences of making a capital city of such extent stand a siege and bombardment like an ordinary fortress.

"Aug. 23rd.—The battery on the left wing of the army (which is calculated to defend its advance from the annoyance of gun-boats) being completed and mounted with thirteen 24-pounders, the construction of mortar batteries, under cover of the above, are in progress. The enemy observing these movements, appeared yesterday to be collecting their praams and gun-boats near the harbour's mouth, in preparation for a powerful attack on our works. Our advanced squadron continuing in their position for defending the operations on shore, were about 10, A. M. attacked by 3 praams (carrying each 20 guns) and a considerable number of gun-boats, (said to be more than 30) in addition to the fire from the Crown battery, floating batteries, and block-ships, which was continued for more than four hours. The fire was returned with great spirit from the squadron, and some attempts were made to throw Mr. Congreve's rockets, but the distance was too great to produce much effect from them. About two P. M. the gun-brigs, which were farthest advanced, not being able to make any impression against so vast a force, were ordered to retire, and the firing ceased. I am happy to find the squadron received no material injury. We have, however, to regret the loss of Lieutenant John Woodford, of the Cruizer, with 4 men killed in the several vessels, and 13 wounded. On the part of the enemy, it is believed, that one gun-boat has been disabled or sunk, and one of the praams was observed to be towed out of the action disabled. The

new battery at the Mill opened, and did considerable execution. [Highly commends the bravery and vigilance of the officers and crews.]

"24th.—Having occasion to confer with lieutenant-General Cathcart, commanding the army, respecting the co-operation of the fleet, I went on shore to head-quarters for that purpose. I learnt that the right wing of the army was advanced near to the town, on the south west, and are preparing mortar batteries to commence the bombardment of it. The enemy being obliged to withdraw their out-posts in that quarter, have set fire to the suburbs, to prevent them from affording cover to our troops. No attack has been made this day by the enemy's flotilla against our advanced squadron.

"25th.—Yesterday and to-day, the damage several of the gun-brigs received on the 23rd have been repaired, and are again ready for service."

"On the 26th a slight skirmish took place, in which seven Englishmen were made prisoners."

The recommendation urged to the Danish Commander, to consider the dreadful consequences of a siege and bombardment, was contained in a letter from Lord Cathcart to Major-General Peyman, and is strongly enforced by the following severe menace: "If the city should determine to abide the horrors of a siege, then the same shall be annoyed by *every possible means of devastation.* As soon as orders shall be issued for this purpose, the officers who are entrusted with them will no longer have any choice left of exerting every means in their power to make themselves masters of the place. An assault made upon a place so full of men and treasure, must, in the issue involve the inhabitants in ruin, and the loss of their property, as an unavoidable consequence. Should Denmark refuse to join us in a friendly alliance, the most absolute orders are given by our Government to attack this city by land and sea." This summons was answered

by General Peyman in the most heroic manner, in a letter written by him to the Crown Prince; in which he observes, "that the admonition and menaces contained in the summons are not unusual in similar circumstances; but if the *English* thought to make any impression on me, they have been strangely deceived. I shall defend myself to the utmost, and Copenhagen shall never fall into the hands of an enemy otherwise than by storm, even though the force brought against me was greater than the present. I shall endeavour to defend our honour, and end my days as a brave soldier, and your Highnesses faithful servant."

A second summons from Lord Cathcart to the Danish General, called forth the following animated answer. "Our fleet, our own indisputable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty's hands as ever it can be in those of the King of England. If you are cruel enough to endeavour to destroy a city that has not given the least cause of such treatment at your hands, it must submit to its fate; but honor and duty bid us reject a proposal unbecoming an independent power, and we are resolved to repel every attack, and to defend to the utmost, our city and our good cause; for which we are ready to lay down our lives. The only proposal in my power to make, in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, is, to send to my Royal Master, to know his final determination with respect to the contents of your letter, if you will grant a passport for this purpose.'

THE END OF CHAP. XXXIX.

CHAPTER XL.

Bombardment, Capitulation, and final Surrender of Copenhagen....British Evacuation of it....Buonaparté's Address to the Legislative Body....Manifesto of his Excellency the Viceroy of Peru, on the Capture of Buenos Ayres....Defeat and Surrender of the British Forces at that Place....Dispute between England and the American States, on the Attack of One of their Frigates, by a British Vessel of superior Force....The American President's Proclamation....A New Constitution given to Poland by Buonaparté....Acts of the Senate of Hayti, &c. &c.

THE British Commanders having refused to suspend their hostile operations during the time requested by Major-General Peyman, on the 2nd of September the bombardment commenced on three sides of the town, which a person, who was present at the horrid scenes, thus pathetically describes: "About half-past seven in the evening I heard the thunder of the mortars breaking out, and saw a large rocket, flying like an arrow through the streets, and killing in its way a poor innocent child, who stood at a window opposite my house; 'Oh! Britain,' I cried out in despair, 'Queen of nations! Mother of such noble and manly sons! Is this thy work?' The confusion was now general; people ran anxiously through the streets; the mother to her children, the father to his family, and every man on duty to his respective post.

"The shells fell in great numbers every-where; the rockets crossed through the gloomy air; the guns on the ramparts mixed their thunder with that of the British, and increased the echoing and dreadful noise. The fire broke out immediately in several places, but our fire-

engines being then in good order, it was soon extinguished; not less than 5,000 men were ready in the streets and other places, to prevent the increasing dangers of so menacing a conflagration. By this means, at first, the bombardment was not so detrimental to the houses as it was fatal to the inhabitants. People were wounded and crushed to death, both in the streets and houses, and no one thought themselves secure even in the lowest cellar. About thirty houses were in flames, and the darkness of the night added much to the horror of this dreadful scene. At eight o'clock in the morning the bombardment ceased. On the 3rd, the Commandant issued a public paper, praising the activity and zeal of the police and firemen, and thanking them for their meritorious conduct.

"In the evening, at seven o'clock, the bombardment re-commenced, very feebly in the beginning, but increasing gradually, till towards the end of the night, when it became most alarming and dreadful. In the morning the King's barn, filled with hay, was on fire, and the fall of the shells was so terrible, that none could venture in the streets without danger of being killed. The fire had, hitherto, been extinguished in 64 different houses, public and private, by the indefatigable efforts of the firemen.

"During the second day's bombardment, a great many inhabitants, to secure their valuable effects, removed to Christianhaven, where they thought themselves in safety, as the shells had scarcely reached that town. Many also flew for refuge to the island of Amack. Rank and fortune sought no distinction, but all were mingled in one indiscriminate class of wretchedness. About a hundred persons lived together in one house at Christianhaven, and the miserable cottages of Amack gave shelter to several families of distinction. On the 4th the bombardment was renewed, and the timber-yards of several merchants, of considerable value, was set on fire with red hot shot; the fire-engines, and all their apparatus, were

destroyed by the shells, as well as by the incessant use made of them; most of the firemen were killed and wounded, so that the town was entirely bereft of their assistance and defence. Those who had withdrawn to Christianhaven, finding that place also threatened with destruction, had to seek a further retreat. Every one now fled to the island of Amack, which, besides its own inhabitants, contained, at this time, about 30,000 strangers.

"In the course of three days the English threw 6,500 bombs into the town, besides an immense number of howitzers. Four hundred houses were laid in ashes, and scarcely any have escaped without some danger; had the bombardment continued one day longer, Copenhagen, and all it contained, would have been reduced to a blank in the map of the world. On the 7th, at eleven o'clock in the morning, after the most spirited attack on the part of the English, and obstinate and brave resistance on the part of the unfortunate Danes, a Capitulation was agreed upon by the respective commanders.

"It is estimated that the private buildings, which were burnt during the bombardment of Copenhagen, were insured at the fire-offices, for about 2,400,000 rix-dollars, or 500,000*l.* sterling. The principal public buildings, which were totally or partly destroyed, were, 1st. The Fredric Kirk, one of the finest churches in this country. It was built by Christian VI. after the great conflagration at Copenhagen, in the year 1728, and its dimensions were 300 feet in length and 50 in height. The steeple was 380 feet high, and contained and alarm-bell, which was 7 feet 2 inches in diameter, and weighed 11,962 pounds. In this church were many excellent monuments of marble; as the mausoleums of the celebrated Admiral Count Adellar, and Count U. F. Gyldenlove. 2nd. The houses belonging to the university, commonly called Studuguard, built at different times, and containing a cabinet of Natural History, which latter has, fortunately,

ben saved. *Borrs* College, where sixteen students had rooms gratis; lastly, the Alms-house, which was a spacious building."

On the 16th of September, 1807, dispatches were received by the British Government, from Admiral Gambier and the Right Honorable Lord Cathcart, of the 7th and 8th instant, announcing the Capitulation and final surrender of Copenhagen, to the British force, under their command.

The former only briefly adverts to the vigorous exertions which had commenced for equipping, and sending to England, the Danish navy; while the latter dilates with more triumphant satisfaction on the exploits their arms had achieved, in which many were led to believe they could not have been disgraced, on *such an expedition*, had they even experienced the most *ignoble* defeat.

"It is fallen to my lot," says his Lordship, in his letter from the citadel of Copenhagen, "to have the great satisfaction of forwarding the ratified Capitulation of the town and citadel of Copenhagen, and the surrender of the Danish fleet and arsenal in this port, which are placed at his Majesty's disposal. The object of securing this fleet having been attained, every other *provison*, of a tendency to wound the feelings, or irritate the nation, has been avoided; and although much havoc has been made by our bombardment and cannonade, not one shot was fired into the town, till the most advantageous terms had been offered; nor a single shot after the indication of a disposition to capitulate.

"The Danish General sent a letter on the 5th instant to propose an Armistice of 24 hours, for preparing an *agreement*, on which Articles of Capitulation might be founded; but the *Armistice* was declined, as tending to unnecessary delay; and Colonel Murray was sent to explain that no proposals could be listened to unless accompanied by the surrender of the fleet. This basis having, at length, been admitted, Sir A. Wellesley, with

Sir Home Popham, and Colonel Murray, were appointed to prepare and sign Articles of Capitulation. " His Lordship further states, " that the town being in a state of the greatest ferment and disorder, I most willingly acceded to the request, that our troops should not be quartered in it, and that neither officers or soldiers should enter it for some days; and having the command of possession from the citadel, whenever it might be necessary to use it, I had no objection to leave the other gates, together with the police, in the hands of his Danish Majesty's troops." This letter, as usual, concludes with the highest praises of the conduct of his Britannic Majesty's troops.

The loss of men sustained by the English in this enterprize, was comparatively small. The following is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing: Killed, 4 officers, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 36 rank and file, and 3 horses. Wounded, 6 officers, 1 serjeant, 138 rank and file, and 25 horses. Missing, 1 serjeant, 4 drummers, and 19 rank and file. In the returns made by Admiral Gambier, of the killed and wounded on board the advanced squadron, under his command, we only find 1 lieutenant and 3 seamen killed; and 1 lieutenant and 12 seamen and marines wounded.

We here subjoin the

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION

For the town and citadel of Copenhagen, agreed upon between Major General the Right Hon. Sir A. Wellesley, K. B. Sir Home Popham, Knight of Malta and Captain of the Fleet, and Lieut. Col. George Murray, Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the British Forces, being thereto duly authorised by James Gambier, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, and Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Baltic sea; and by Lieut. Gen. the Right Hon. Lord Cathcart, Knight of the Thistle, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in Zealand and the North of

the Continent of Europe, on the one part, and by Major General Walterstorff, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, Chamberlain to the King, and Col. of the North Zealand Regiment of Infantry, Rear Admiral Lurken, and I. H. Kerchoff, Aid-de-camp to his Danish Majesty, being duly authorised by his Excellency Major General Peyman, Knight of the Order of Dannebrog, and Commander-in-Chief of his Danish Majesty's Forces in the Island of Zealand, on the other part.

Art. I. When the Capitulation shall have been signed and ratified, the troops of his Britannic Majesty are to be put in possession of the citadel.

Art. II. A guard of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise be placed in the Dock Yards.

Art. III. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with all the naval stores belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be delivered into the charge of such persons as shall be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces, and they are to be put in immediate possession of the Dock-Yards, and all the buildings and store-houses belonging thereto.

Art. IV. The store-ships and transports in the service of his Britannic Majesty, are to be allowed, if necessary, to come into the harbour for the purpose of embarking such stores and troops as they have brought into this island.

Art. V. As soon as the ships shall have been removed from the Dock-Yard, or within six weeks from the date of this Capitulation, or sooner, if possible, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall deliver up the citadel to the troops of his Danish Majesty, in the state in which it shall be found when they occupy it. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise, within the before-mentioned time, or sooner, if possible, be embarked from the island of Zealand.

Art. VI. From the date of this Capitulation, hostilities shall cease throughout the island of Zealand.

Art. VII. No person whatsoever shall be molested, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war, and the naval stores before-mentioned, belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be respected; and all civil and military officers in the service of his Danish Majesty, shall continue in the full exercise of their authority throughout the Island of Zealand; and every thing shall be done which can tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations.

Art. VIII. All prisoners taken on both sides, shall be unconditionally restored; and those officers who are prisoners on parole, shall be released from its effect.

Art. IX. Any English property, that may have been sequestered in consequence of the existing hostilities, shall be restored to the owners.

This Capitulation shall be ratified by the respective Commanders-in-Chief, and the ratifications shall be exchanged before twelve o'clock at noon, this day.

Done at Copenhagen, this 7th day of September, 1807.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
HOME POPHAM.
GEORGE MURRAY.

Ratifié par moi (signée) PEYMAUN.

A List of the Danish Ships and Vessels delivered up by the Capitulation of Copenhagen to his Majesty's Forces.

Christian the Seventh, of 96 guns, built in 1803; Neptune, of 84 guns, built in 1789; Waldemaar, of 84 guns, built in 1798; Princess Sophia Frederica, of 74 guns, built in 1775; Justice, of 74 guns, built in 1777; Heir Apparent Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Crown Prince Frederick, of 74 guns, built in 1782; Fuen, of 74 guns, built in 1787; Oden, of 74 guns, built in 1788; Three Crowns, of 74 guns, built in 1789; Skiold, of 74 guns, built in 1792; Crown Princess Maria, of 74 guns, built in 1791; Denemark, of 74 guns, built in 1794; Norway, of 74 guns, built in 1800; Princess Caroline,

of 74 guns, built in 1805: Detmarsken, of 64 guns, built in 1780; Conqueror, of 64 guns, built in 1785; Mars, of 64 guns, built in 1784.—Frigates; Pearl, of 44 guns, built in 1804; Housewife, of 44 guns, built in 1789; Liberty, of 44 guns, built in 1793; Iris, of 44 guns, built in 1795; Rota, of 44 guns, built in 1801; Venus of 44 guns, built in 1805; Nyade, of 36 guns, built in 1796; Triton, of 28 guns, built in 1790; Frederigstein, of 28 guns, built in 1800; Little Belt, of 24 guns, built in 1801; St. Thomas, of 22 guns, built in 1779; Fylla, of 24 guns, built in 1802; Elbe, of 20 guns, built in 1800; Eyderen, of 20 guns, built in 1802; Gluckstadt, of 20 guns, built in 1804.—Brigs: Sarpe, of 18 guns, built in 1791; Glomen, of 13 guns, built in 1791; Ned Elven, of 18 guns, built in 1792; Mercure, of 18 guns, built in 1806; Courier, of 14 guns, built in 1801; Flying Fish, built in 1789.—Gun-Boats: Eleven with 2 guns in the bow; fourteen with 1 gun in the bow, and one in the stern.

J. GAMBIER.

September, 7. 1807.

In considering the British attack on Denmark, one thing cannot possibly escape us. Without viewing the unprovoked aggression on the part of England, in all its treacherous and disgraceful bearings, we must observe, that ever since Buonaparté had conquered Holland, and had acted upon his decrees to exclude all English merchandize from the continent, it had been the unceasing object of the Court of St. James's to render the island of Zealand a *depôt* for British goods, and to make the Danish territory the medium of conveying them into France, Holland, and Germany.

Through this means, England possessed a very considerable export trade: and from the facilities afforded by the Danish market, for the rapid sale and extensive

consumption of the various articles of her manufactures, it was estimated that her shipments to Copenhagen alone, constituted nearly one-seventh part of all her foreign commerce. How impolitic, then, to make war on Denmark, and to sacrifice, by that means, so important an interest as had heretofore been enjoyed by her merchants.

Some discussions took place in the British House of Commons, respecting the shameful and unprofitable results of the above expedition. It was warmly contended, that ministers had no genuine information upon which they could ground such hostile proceedings, either in regard to the immediate or ultimate views of Denmark's uniting her forces with any of the belligerent powers of the Continent. All, it was said, that England had gained by that expedition, was about 16 hulls of ships of war, valued at 8*l.* per ton. Was this an object, worthy the sacrifices it has cost them; or has the dignity and gallant spirit of the British Nation been any way enhanced by so *successful* an enterprize? Denmark has now thrown herself and her cause into the arms of France; and by a treaty offensive and defensive with Buonaparté, has now completely identified her interest with the most implacable foe to England.

As no sort of infraction of the Capitulation, had been made by the Danes, who, on the contrary, had acted most honourably in the strict and literal fulfilment of their engagements, the British forces, conformably to the stipulation of their respective commanders, commenced their evacuation of Zealand on the 13th of October.

The embarkation of these troops went on progressively, until the evening of the 18th, when, in consequence of a gale of wind, which lasted twenty-four hours, they experienced some slight interruption. This produced some altercation between the Danish and British Generals, as the citadel was to be delivered up on the 20th, but which

it was deemed expedient, by the latter, to retain, fearing hostilities might re-commence on the expiration of the term agreed upon. On that day, however, the British Adjutant was sent to the Danish head-qarters to acquaint the General he was at liberty to send a guard to take charge of the citadel; which was accordingly done. None of the Danish troops appeared on this occasion, and the final evacuation of the English was completed without the least irregularity or unpleasant disturbance.

The French official papers mentioned the English evacuation as a shameful flight; because, by means of the frost in November, it was stated, 20,000 Danes, and 30,000 French, would have entered that place.

We will now recal our reader's attention to some of the public and official proceedings of the French Emperor, who, shortly after his return to Paris, from the important scenes at Tilsit, went with the accustomed ceremonies, to the palace of the Legislative Body, to open the session, and thus addressed that assembly.

"Gentlemen, the deputies of the department to the legislative body—Gentlemen, the tribunes and members of my council of state. Since your last sitting, new wars, new triumphs, and new treaties of peace, have changed the political face of Europe. If the house of Brandenburgh, which was the first to conspire against our independence, still reigns, it owes it to the sincere friendship with which the powerful Emperor of the North has inspired me. A French Prince will reign on the Elbe. He will know how to reconcile the interest of his new subjects with his first and most sacred duties. The house of Saxony has recovered, at the end of fifty years, the independence which it had lost. The people of the Dutchy of Warsaw, and the city of Dantzic, have recovered their country, and their rights. All nations unanimously rejoice to see the pernicious influence which England exercised over the continent irrevocably destroy-

ed. France is united to the people of Germany, by the laws of the Confederation of the Rhine—to those of Spain, of Holland, of Switzerland, and of Italy, by the laws of our federative system. Our new connections with Russia are cemented by the reciprocal esteem of these two great nations. In all that I have done, I have solely had in view the happiness of my people, which is more dear to me than my own glory.

"I wish for a maritime peace. No resentment shall ever influence my determination. I can have none against a nation which is the sport and victim of the factions by which it is torn; and which is equally deceived with respect to the situation of its own affairs, as it is with respect to that of its neighbours. But whatever result the decrees of Providence have assigned to the maritime war, my people shall always find me the same; and I shall always find my people worthy of me.

"Frenchmen, your conduct latterly, when your Emperor was removed upwards of five hundred leagues from you, has increased my esteem, and the opinion which I had conceived of your disposition. I felt a pride in being the first among you. If during these ten months of absence and dangers your thoughts were turned to me, the proofs of affection which you have given me have constantly excited my warmest emotions. All my cares—every thing which related even to the preservation of my life, did not affect me, except on account of the interest that you felt for me, and the importance which they possibly might be of to your future destiny. *You are a good and a great people.* I have considered of different regulations to simplify and improve our institutions. The nation has left the happy effects of the establishment of the Legion of Honour. I have created different imperial titles, to give new splendour to my principal subjects, to honour remarkable services by remarkable rewards, and thus to prevent the return of all feudal titles which are incompatible with our constitution.—The accounts of

my ministers of finance, and of the treasury, will explain to you the prosperous situation of our finances. My people will experience a considerable diminution in the land-tax. My Minister of the Interior will acquaint you with the works which have been commenced, or finished; but what yet remains to be done is much more important; for it is my wish, that in every part of my empire, even in the smallest hamlet, the comfort of the inhabitants, and the value of the lands, may be increased by the effect of that general system of improvement which I intend. Gentlemen, the deputies of the departments to the Legislative Body, your assistance will be necessary to enable me to attain this great object; and I have a right to place constant reliance on it."

This speech produced the most lively enthusiasm; and his Majesty put an end to the sitting, amidst repeated cries of "*Long live the Emperor!*" The same acclamations were heard in all the streets through which his Majesty passed on his return.

The march of the troops, in resorting to the church of Notre-Dame, along the streets and public places, decorated with all that taste and elegance could unite, the innumerable crowd of spectators, their unanimous acclamations, the splendour of their dresses, the pomp of their equipages, the number and beauty of the troops; all these circumstances united, offered a spectacle of the most beautiful triumph of which modern Europe can boast.

Never, perhaps, was the public joy manifested in France in a manner more general or more ingenious.—At every step, emblems and inscriptions expressed, in a manner the most happy, the sentiments of love and admiration with which all France is penetrated for the great man who honours and governs it.

The artificial fire-works executed on the bridge of Concorde, terminated this superb fête in a manner the most brilliant. The crowd then visited the illuminations; those of the Thuilleries, of the Luxemburg, of the Palace

of Justice, of the hotel of the Minister of Police, successively attracted the attention of the curious; but it was to the illuminations of the Palace Royal that the general preference was given.

While these events were passing in Europe, others of a no less interesting nature where passing in the new world. We mean the British expedition to Buenos Ayres. Here a novel field of enterprize had been marked out by the industrious efforts of a few speculative adventurers; who, with a view to enrich themselves, had betrayed their own government into an unsuccessful attempt to conquer South America.

They had already vainly imagined themselves in the almost certain possession of the mines of Peru, and had projected a plan for the supposed improvement of its Spanish settlers, under the most promising advantages to the interest of great Britain; but no sooner did they commence their hostile schemes to effect its conquest, than they experienced a melancholy defeat, attended with a very considerable loss of both men and treasure. To shew of what temper the Peruvians were, and how very little inclined they felt to be united, in any way, with England, or her cause, we shall here introduce the Manifesto of the Vice-Roy of that country, with respect to the operations of the British Government.

MANIFESTO

Of his Excellency the Vice-Roy of Peru, on the Capture of Buenos Ayres, by the English.

"Although I am convinced, the perusal of the three proclamations, published at the city of Buenos Ayres by the English General Beresford, must have filled with indignation the breasts of all his Majesty's loyal subjects, and particularly of those who enjoy the happiness of inhabiting this metropolis, so much favoured and distinguished by our Sovereigns; yet I cannot refrain from indulging myself in pointing out to my countrymen, the venom hidden under the hypocritical professions of the

enemy, therein contained; for which purpose, without recurring to any other arguments, I shall confine myself solely to a retrospect of the recent atrocious conduct observed by that nation in every quarter of the globe. Years after years have set in and passed, during which all Europe has witnessed the English government using every means it can invent, for cementing and propagating its detestable tyranny, availing itself of every circumstance favouring such a purpose; stooping to practices the most vile and infamous, setting aside the most sacred principles of the rights of man, and trampling upon all the uses and customs, for many ages universally received and observed amongst civilized nations. Far from proceeding, either in carrying on war or negociating peace, with that noble frankness and good faith, the characteristics of nations generous and brave, it recurs to dark artifices of fiction and seduction, to dazzle and corrupt the unwary, who are weak enough to trust and confide in its perfidious promises. Such is the object of the three proclamations which I have mentioned; to lull to sleep the understanding of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, with hopes of an imaginary happiness; to blindfold them, that they may not perceive the abyss of evil which surrounds them; to cover, as with a garland of flowers, the iron chains which their oppressors have prepared for them; to stupify the native energy of those active Spaniards; to alienate from their hearts, if it is possible, the love, the fidelity and gratitude they owe to the most benevolent and just of all Monarchs; to prevail upon them, for ever to lay down their arms, nor think of avenging themselves and retrieve their lost honour, but solely aspire to the felicity of being numbered among the vilest slaves of the tyrant of the seas! From these motives, they speak of the great advantages, which, they pretend, would result from an alliance with Great Britain: under that government, they say, oppression is unknown; promise immediately to free their com-

merce from the heavy duties and imposts to which it has been subjected, to respect the Catholic Religion and its holy ministers, and that the local laws and national customs shall remain untouched; and conclude with stating, that their only object is to protect the Eastern coasts of South America, and render it to the country the most prosperous in the universe. But where is the man, sensible and judicious, who does not immediately discover, under those affected expressions, the vile language of hypocrisy and fiction, so foreign to the intrepid soldier, natural only to the cowardly legions of those sordid islanders? Where is the man, whose blood does not boil on hearing the sacred names of protection, humanity, and benevolence, pronounced by a government, stained with recent robberies, perfidies, and murders?—by a government which does not cease sowing the seeds of discord and rebellion every where?—by a government which has so lately, before our eyes, kindled a bonfire in the fairest part of the globe, [alluding to Europe,] whose provinces we have so recently seen inundated with streams of the blood of its inhabitants?—by a government, which has so basely forsaken its allies, by hastily withdrawing its troops from all those parts where any of the invincible battalions of Buonaparté made their appearance?—by a government, whose friendship has proved so baneful and ruinous to so many powerful princes, and covered with mourning and desolation the immense countries situate between the fertile banks of the Adige and the frozen lakes of Bohemia?—by a government, lastly, which has so long endeavoured to erect the throne of its tyranny upon the spoils and tombs of all other nations, and which, of late years, has not even shrunk, in the face of the world, to adopt, as a basis of its Machiavelian system of politics, the plan of perpetual war; a plan at which humanity shudders? a plan which posterity will record and hand down to our remotest descendants, as a memorable monument of the ferocity and barbarity to which

egotism and a thirst for monopoly can precipitate people, which lent its ear to no voice, but that of its arrogant and unnatural avarice?

"*Generous men of Lima!*—Let us fling far from us, with that contempt which they so well deserve, those infamous proclamations, with which the English General pretends to surprise the innate fidelity of our countrymen, who inhabit the banks of the river La Plata. Let us look upon them as an insult to our honour, as an attempt against our own happiness, and a plan directed to the destruction of our native land.

"*Merchants!* The same men, who now pretend to have possessed themselves of Buenos Ayres, solely with a view of protecting your commerce, are the same who have precipitated it to that dismay and ruin, so prejudical to your useful speculations, to which you see it reduced. They are the same who commenced the present hostilities, by capturing three of the King's frigates and blowing up another. They are the same who seized upon your defenceless ships, peaceably navigating the seas, under a confidence that the Spanish flag, which they displayed in the air, would protect them against all injuries from a nation with which we were not then at war. A general indignation was manifested by all the cabinets of Europe, but even this was insufficient to induce those avaricious and cruel Islanders to restore the treasures which they had so unjustly taken, with the blood of so many innocent victims.

"*Spaniards!* That perfidious nation which now pretends to appear to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, as of all others, the most humane, is the same, which not six years since, sent a sqadron and an army before Cadiz, at a time when the plague reigned within its walls, in all it's terror, spreading horror and destruction. The English Admiral, who from his cabin windows could feast his eyes with the spectacle of mountains of corpses yet

unburied, and the gloomy light of the funeral piles, yet had the courage of challenging our valiant chief to surrender or to prepare himself to suffer all the rigours of war. The commander of a Moorish corsair, having fallen in with a convoy, carrying victuals and medicines, at the expence of the Pope, to the city of Marseilles, then infested by a destructive plague, not only refrained from capturing those ships, but spontaneously convoyed them to the port of their destination. And the English Admiral, on a similar occasion, threw balls and shells into Cadiz, with an intent of reducing it to a heap of ruins.

"*Spaniards!* Those who now publish a law at Buenos Ayres enjoining slaves to obey their masters, are the same who fomented, and still continue to encourage in the island of St. Domingo, the most atrocious rebellion, recorded in the annals of nations.—We have all witnessed, that while the sanguinary Dessalines, at the head of innumerable bands of assassins, marched along the coasts, with the murdering steel in one hand and incendiary torch in the other, with fire and sword, spreading desolation, destruction, and death, wheresoever he went, an English squadron rigorously blockaded the capital, in order that no one solitary victim might escape the African fury.

"*Indians!* You who are one of the sweetest objects of the tender care of our most amiable Monarch! That nation, which has taken possession of Buenos Ayres, has ever treated the aborigines of America and Asia with the most inhuman cruelty. When in the course of the last century they found it impracticable, by force of arms, to subjugate the brave inhabitants of the Floridas, they concluded a specious peace, and during such peace, regaled them with poisoned liquors and cloths, which caused deaths without number. Their East India Company has already extirpated the greater number of the mild inhabitants of Malabar, Bengal, and Coromandel, and would extripate them all by one single blow, if they

required not their labour in the manufactories of their richest and finest stuffs. That terrible famine is still recent in our memory, when millions of Indians perished, and which being foreseen by the English factories, they timely stored all the rice and other provisions, which the scanty harvest of that year had yielded. *Indians!* wheresoever the English nation has gained a footing, your's has been enslaved, reduced, and destroyed without mercy.

"*All you People, Inhabitants of Peru!* Let us, on this important occasion, display all our loyalty, all our courage. Let us speedily wash away the ugly stain cast upon the arms of Spain by the surrender of Buenos Ayres. Let us instantly fly to arms in the defence of our holy faith and of our beloved Sovereign, and let us plunge into the deep currents of the river La Plata, that our cast-off smugglers and pirates who, having by surprise possessed themselves of one of the most interesting parts of America, diffident of the power of their arms, and in dread of our just vengeance, now attempt, by means of the detestable artifices of seduction, to induce us to forego the performance of our most sacred and inviolable duties, and to turn deaf ears to the pathetic and penetrating voice with which our country now calls upon us for assistance."

From the beginning the capture of Buenos Ayres, by the English, was looked upon by many, as an unwise and impolitic measure. Unsanctioned as it appears to have been by the authority of that government, it could scarcely deserve the name of a national enterprize; yet we find the consequences resulting to England from its failure, to have been of the most mortifying and distressing kind.

If we may give any credit to the Public accounts, we shall find that the British cabinet had no accurate information of the state of the Spanish colonies in that

part of the world, when a few armed vessels under the command of Commodore Sir Home Popham, and a very feeble number of land forces, under the command of General Beresford, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, about the middle of April 1806, leaving that settlement without an armed vessel to protect it from insult, in order to effect a conquest of the above settlement, by surprise. What better fate could have reasonably been expected to await an undertaking commenced solely upon the responsibility of a British naval commander, without any positive instructions from his government, than miscarriage and disgrace? Was it possible to strike a lasting terror in the minds of the inhabitants of South America, by such a scare-crow expedition? But we are told that the chief reliance of Sir Home Popham, was on the British government's supplying him, in season, with such reinforcement as was necessary to secure a permanent conquest of Buenos Ayres, of which he had obtained a few months possession, but was soon after obliged to abandon it to its former masters. The capture of Monte Video, which followed in succession, from the obstinate resistance it made, added, however, no inconsiderable lustre to the British arms; but, unfortunately, this fortress, although a key to the navigation of the river La Plata, was, in itself, but of little importance to the trade of England. Buenos Ayres being the chief mart for the sale of her merchandize, and also the principal *depôt* for exporting the various commodities of that part of South America.

We are not, then, surprized to find that England should wish to regain, at all hazards, the possession of this important capital, or that its government should be inclined to overlook the first steps, by which its transient and short-lived conquest had been achieved. To effect its re-capture, England expended large sums, and dispatched some fresh troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, and others, who, in the end, ex-

perienced the same fate as their military predecessors. It is plain they had not only mis-calculated on the friendly disposition of the Spanish settlers towards them, but were even *deceived* as to their powerful means of resistance; since they ventured on a mode of storming the place, under the direction of General Whitelocke, with unloaded muskets, and without flints; a practice, although not very common, we believe, in the system of military operations, was not deemed reprehensible by the court-martial appointed to try him on his return to England, and whose sentence (with that exception) has since consigned him to *disgrace*. The event of this species of attack, was precisely such as might have been expected, and which has thus officially been made public.

On the 5th of July 1807, a most desperate engagement took place in the streets of Buenos Ayres; "The nature of the fire to which the English troops were exposed, was violent in the extreme; grape shot at the corners of all the streets, musketry, hand-grenades, bricks and stones, from the tops of the houses; every housekeeper, with his negroes, defending his dwelling, each of which, in itself, was a fortress; and it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the whole male population of that place were employed in its defence; not less than 2,500 men have been included in the list of killed and wounded on the part of the English.

We have already noticed the extravagant joy and delusive expectations, which the news of the capture of Buenos Ayres diffused through every part of the British empire. A circular Letter from Sir Home Popham, to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing, and not under-rating the market he had opened, spread widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest, and led to many rash and improvident speculations. It was forgotten that Buenos Ayres had always been supplied with English goods

through Spanish, or neutral bottoms; and though a direct trade might lessen the price of such goods, and increase the demand for them, it could not be supposed that the consumption would be in any proportion to the wild speculation which had been entered into by the British merchants. It was not considered, that Buenos Ayres was 1,800 miles distant from the mines of Patosi, and that the intermediate country was inhabited by a hardy unsettled race, expert in the management of their horses and spears, and as invincible in defensive war as the Arabs of the desert. Nor did they suppose this place owed its wealth and importance, not to its natural resourses, derived from the fertile and uncultivated territory that surrounds it, but to its being the emporium between the mother country and her more distant colonies. But long before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres, came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was retaken by the Spaniards. The terms on which the English forces surrendered, became afterwards a subject of dispute between Generals Beresford and Liniers, who acted as Commander-in-Chief of the Spaniards.

This much is certain, that, contrary to the Articles of Capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war, and marched up the country. The loss of the British, by their own account, was 165 killed, wounded, and missing, besides 1,300 made prisoners. Thus terminated the Expedition to Buenos Ayres; and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprize, undertaken without authority, and originating in a breach of public duty, which though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a Court Martial highly censurable and deserving of a severe reprimand*.

As it is foreign to our purpose to enter into all the

* Sentence of the Court Martial on the trial of Sir Home Popham, March 11th, 1807.

details connected with this unsuccesful expedition of the English, we shall only observe, that the latter were totally defeated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to the Spanish forces, under General Liniers, who dictated to them the most humiliating terms to evacuate, with all possible speed, their *late* acquired footing in South America.

Although we cannot but sincerely lament the effusion of blood, shed in consequence of the above expedition to invade the rights of the Spanish nation, and to render their possessions in the new world an object of individual plunder, yet we are far from regretting that this object has not been so fully and completely attained on the part of those British naval and military officers, whose active *zeal* in organizing a plan for its conquest, has been thus baffled.

We will here subjoin from the *Moniteur*, what that paper has said on the subject of English expeditions, and in which it has noticed, with much force, the one to Buenos Ayres.

"It observes that England has, within two years, sent out four expeditions.

"The first was against Constantinople, which was attended with the loss of several ships, the confiscation of all English merchandize, and the expulsion of their commerce from all the trading ports of the Levant. Admiral Duckworth, and his squadron, were happy in being able to find safety in flight.

"The second expedition from England was against Egypt. This was still more shameful, more disastrous, more disgraceful. Its army, defeated at Rosetta, surrounded on its march, lost more than 4000 chosen men in killed and made prisoners. In vain did the English break down the dykes, cut the canals, and inundate that unhappy country, in order to secure themselves in Alexandria. On the 22nd of September the Pacha arrived from Cairo, defeated them, and obliged them to surrender

Alexandria, into which he made his entry on the 24th. It is difficult to find a more humiliating Expedition.

"The third English Expedition was that against Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. Ten thousand English troops failed in their attack upon an unfortified town. It is true, that the hatred which the Spanish Catholics have for the enemies of their religion, furnished them with new means against them, animated the whole population with new ardor, and the 10,000 men were very happy in being permitted to retire. This Expedition, which cost the English enormous sums, only served, therefore, to destroy the illusion which had induced them to imagine that it was easy to seize on the Spanish possessions. The Portuguese possessions would not have offered less resistance. *Wherever there are Catholics, the intolerant English will find enemies.* In this fatal expedition they lost more than 5,000 men.

"Their fourth Expedition has ben most notorious. It was that of Copenhagen, the most atrocious expedition of which history can preserve the remembrance; the shame with which it has covered the English government is indelible. Why did the English evacuate Zealand and Copenhagen, when the Danish government would not ratify the Capitulation, and the engagement to evacuate no longer existed? Why did the English evacuate when the Prince Royal refused to receive their Envoy; when that Prince concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with France, when he only answered their propositions by the recal of the agent he had at London? In fine, when, in his political negociations, he speaks of the English by calling them robbers, a name they have so well merited? Why? Because they are convinced of their weakness and inability by land. The approach of the season when the ice would render the arrival of the Danish troops possible, determined them prudently to take flight, instead of waiting for the enemy whom they had surprised when unarmed, and whom it would

soon be necessary to combat; a disgraceful flight, which can never be treated with too much contempt."

Having pursued our observations as far as our limits here will permit, on the conduct and defeat of the British forces at Buenos Ayres, we are led to notice the dispute which soon followed between England and the United States of America, in the affair of the Chesapeak, a national ship, belonging to the latter government.

Here we have again to contemplate another unauthorised act of a British naval commander*, in committing an unjustifiable aggression on the rights of an independent nation, by directing a forcible seizure of some pretended British seamen, who were said to be on board the Chesapeak.

It is not our present design to enquire by what indefeasible right Great Britain claims the supreme empire of the ocean; or on what principles, sanctioned by the law of nations, she exercises her *right* of search of vessels belonging to neutrals; if it is to her naval prowess that she owes this unbounded authority over the seas, it behoves her, in a moral sense, to recollect, that even this mighty prowess may become the sport and wreck of hurricanes and tempests, and that it may be reduced, by the very element that now constitutes her chief glory, and occasional *oppression*, to the harmless and inoffensive state of a drooping sea-weed. The dominion of the seas, if exercised without any regard to natural right, or to natural justice, is an act of hostility, not so much against man, as against the Author of the *Universe, whom*, we cannot reasonably suppose, ever intended it for a mere theatre of *blood-stained victories*, rather than a grand link to unite in friendship and peaceful commerce, the interest and prosperity of distant nations.

Considering it, then, in this latter point of view, we are

* Admiral Berkley.

not surprised that the freedom of its navigation, wherever, or by whomsoever usurped, should meet with the avowed hatred and displeasure of all mankind, who can never tamely submit that its sovereignty should be exclusively lodged in the hands of any one government. The Americans, therefore, could not feel otherwise than indignant at the hostile proceedings of a British armed ship, and of superior force, attacking one of their frigates, even within the jurisdictional limits of their own waters.

The course pursued by the American President, Mr. Jefferson, on this occasion, was honourable and dignified. His proclamation, which we shall submit to our readers, is a mild and manly appeal to the Government and good sense of England, while it, at the same time, served to appease, in some measure, the deeply-iritated minds of his fellow-citizens.

By the American prints it appears, that the inhabitants, throughout the States, had entered into the most spirited resolutions to defend their country, declaring, that for the recent conduct of Britain there can be but one species of atonement--an *express disavowal of the act by the Government of Great Britain*, and an unqualified surrender of the officer or officers, by whose orders it was perpetrated, to the justice of the States.

We have, also, under date of July the 6th, from Norfolk in Virginia, the following account and correspondence between the Mayor of that place, and Commodore Douglas:—

"The agitation which our town was thrown into by the recent occurrence, had in some degree began to subside, and our citizens were waiting in calm expectation for the measures which our Government might adopt, when on Friday a movement of British ships again excited it. On the afternoon of that day, the Bellona, Triumph, Leopard, and Melampus, came up from Lynhaven Bay, and anchored in Hampton Roads, in such manner as evidently proved that they designed some-

thing serious. On Saturday a pilot-boat came up to town, the master of which reported that he had been brought-to by the Bellona, (the Commodore's ship,) and charged with the following letter from Commodore Douglas to the Mayor of this place:—

Bellona, Hampton Roads, July, 3rd.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to represent to you, that having observed in the newspapers a resolution, made by a committee on the 28th ult. prohibiting any communication between his Britannic Majesty's Consul at Norfolk, and his ships lying at anchor in Lynhaven Bay; and this being a measure extremely hostile, not only in depriving the British Consul from discharging the duties of his office, but at the same time preventing me from obtaining that information so absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, I am therefore determined, if this infringement is not immediately annulled, to prohibit every vessel, bound either in or out of Norfolk, to proceed to their destination, until I know the pleasure of my Government, or the Commander-in-Chief on this station. You must be perfectly aware, that the British flag never has, nor will be insulted with impunity. You must also be aware, that it has been, and is still in my power, to obstruct the whole trade of the Chesapeak, since the late circumstance, which I desisted from, trusting that general unanimity would be restored. Respecting the circumstance of the deserters, lately apprehended from the United States frigate, Chesapeak, that, in my opinion, must be decided between the two governments alone. It therefore rests with the inhabitants of Norfolk, either to engage in war, or remain on terms of peace.

"Agreeably to my intentions, I have proceeded to Hampton Roads with the squadron under my command,

to await your answer, which I trust you will favour me with without delay.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"J. E. DOUGLAS."

"To Richard Lee, Esq. Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia."

"P. S. I inclose you two letters, directed to the British Consul at Norfolk, which you will be pleased to forward to him.

"J. E. D."

The Mayor convened the recorder and aldermen, when the following answer was agreed on, and ordered to be sent:—

Norfolk, July 4.

"SIR,

"I have received your menacing letter of yesterday. The day on which this answer is written*, ought of itself to prove to the subjects of your Sovereign, that the American people are not to be intimidated by menace, or induced to adopt any measures, except by a sense of their perfect propriety. Seduced by the false shew of security, they may be sometimes surprised and slaughtered, while unprepared to resist a supposed friend; that delusive security is now, however, past for ever! The late occurrence has taught us to confide our safety no longer to any thing but our own force. We do not seek hostility, nor shall we avoid it. We are prepared for the worst you may attempt, and will do whatever shall be judged proper to repel force, whensoever your efforts shall render any act of our's necessary. Thus much for the threats of your letter, which can be considered in no other light than as addressed to the supposed fears of our citizens.

* The Anniversary of American Independence.

"In answer to any part of it, which is particularly addressed to me, as the first judicial officer of this borough, I have but to say, that you must be aware, that the Judiciary of no country possesscss any other powers than those conferred upon it by the law.

"The same channel through which you have derived the intelligence stated by yourself, must have also announced to you, that the act of which you complain is an act of individuals, and not of the Government.—If this act be wrong and illegal, the Judicary of this country, whenever the case is properly brought before it, will take care to do its duty. At present it has no judicial information of outrage on the laws, and therefore will not act.

"If you, Sir, please to consider this act of individuals as a measure 'extremely hostile,' and shall commence hostility without waiting the decision of our two governments, although you yourself acknowledge that it properly belongs to them alone to decide, the inhabitants of Norfolk will conform to your example, and protect themselves against any lawless aggression which may be made upon their persons and property; they therefore leave it with you, either to engage in a war, or to remain on terms of peace, until the pleasure of our respective Governments shall be known.

"Your letters, directed to the British Consul of this place, have been forwarded to him.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"RICHARD E. LEE, Mayor."

"To J. E. Douglas, Esq, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Ships in Hampton-Roads.

On the 5th of July, a Mr. Tazerwell, deputed by the Mayor, went on board the British squadron in Hampton-Roads, and had a conference with Commodore Douglas. It appears from this report, that Mr. Tazerwell was introduced by Commodore Douglas into his cabin, where

all the captains of the squadron were assembled; and that the Commodore declared *that he meant no menace*, and that if any part of his letter to the Mayor had the appearance of threat, it was not to be so understood. He stated that he had no orders to commence hostilities, and that he was anxious, as far as depended on him, to preserve peace between the two countries. The report then proceeds thus:

"In the course of this conversation, I described to them, as well as I was able, the sentiment which universally prevailed throughout the country at this time, the cause from whence it proceeded, and the effects it would produce, provided any effort on their part should be made to oppose the public resolves, as to intercourse or supplies. I explicitly declared, that we had as yet received no authority from our Government to proceed to acts of aggression, but that we were authorized, and were prepared for defence, and for the protection of ourselves and property; to prove which, I placed in the hands of Capt. Douglas an extract from the letter of Governor Cabell to Brigadier-General Mathews, which I had made for that purpose. I concluded by warning him again not to send any of his officers or people on shore; for that if he did, the arms of the civil authority, I did not believe, would be able to protect them from the vengeance of an enraged people; that this might lead to consequences which might, possibly, be yet averted; and if he was sincere in the sentiments he had expressed, he would be anxious to prevent such results. Captain Douglas, and all the Captains, declared, that they were aware of the present state of the public feelings, and deplored the circumstance which had excited it; that they did not intend to expose any of their people to the resentment of our's, which they could conceive was highly inflamed; that, as to supplies, they did not want at present; but when they did, they should not attempt to procure them in any way which would excite the opposi-

tion of the citizens of this conntry.—Upon the subject of intercourse, he did not expect to hold any with the people of this country, nor was there any occassion for it. He only wished to be permitted freely to communicate with the accredited officer of his Government here, who had been formely received and recognized by our Executive, and whose functions, he presumed, none but the Government had the right to put down. As to the particular manner in which this communication might be carried on, it was a matter quite indifferent to him. He had no objection to that being regulated by ourselves, in any way which is judged proper, and that he would certainly pursue the mode which might be suggested as most agreeable to us, provided the channel of communication was kept free and open. To this I stated, that I had no authority from any person to enter into any engagement with him; but that, as an individual, I would state, that the letters he had forwarded under cover to you, had been safely delivered, and that, therefore, I presumed any other dispatches of a like kind would be treated in the same way. But upon this subject I could only refer him to you and your associates for information."

Notwithstanding such were the tumultuous and riotous scenes in several of the sea-ports of the united States, before the President issued his Proclamation, yet, on its appearance, the fury of party began somewhat to abate, and to settle into a more regular course of popular action. The steps taken by the Executive to obtain redress for the above insult, were highly approved of by all parties; many of whom considered the British Government would not hesitate to punish, in the most exemplary manner, the unauthorised acts of their Admiral. "Should we be mistaken," say they, "and the ministers of England resolve on *war*, the advantages of a party in our favour in England, must be well appreciated by all who remember our former glorious struggle for independence.

Our fathers addressed the whole British nation in terms so impressive, that it has been much questioned whether our battles were better contended on the American plains, or in St. Stephen's Chapel.

Although many violent sentiments have been expressed by some few hot-heated sons of freedom in America, respecting the conduct of the British Government, in the affair of the Chesapeak, and although many reproachful invectives have been applied, on this occasion, to the character of the English Nation, the more moderate temper of their Chief Magistrate, in which we trust the good sense of the people at large is equally and fully blended, will be found in the following

PROCLAMATION.

" During the wars, which for some time have unhappily prevailed among the powers of Europe, the United States of America, firm in their principles of peace, have endeavoured by justice, by a regular discharge of all their national and social duties, and by every friendly office their situation has admitted, to maintain with all the belligerents their accustomed relations of friendship, hospitality, and commercial intercourse.

" Taking no part in the questions which animated these powers against each other, nor permitting themselves to entertain a wish but for a general restoration of peace, they have observed, with good faith, the neutrality they assumed, and they believe that no instance of a departure from its duties can be justly imputed to them by any nation. A free use of their harbours and waters, the means of refitting and refreshing, of succour to their sick and suffering, have, at all times, and on equal principles, been extended to all, and this, too, amidst a constant recurrence of acts of insubordination to the laws, of violence to the persons, and of trespasses on the property of our citizens, committed by officers of one of the belligerent parties received among us. In truth, these abuses of the laws of hospitality have, with

a few exceptions, become habitual to the commanders of the British army-vessels hovering on our coasts, and frequenting our harbours. They have been the subject of repeated representations to their Government. Assurances have been given, that proper orders should restrain them within the limit of the rights, and of the respect due to a friendly nation; but those orders and assurances have been without effect; and no instance of punishment for past wrongs has taken place.

"At length a deed, transcending all we have hitherto seen or suffered, brings the public sensibility to a serious crisis, and our forbearance to a necessary pause. A frigate of the United States, trusting to a state of peace, and leaving her harbour on a distant service, had been surprised and attacked by a British vessel of superior force, one of a squadron then lying in our waters, and covering the transaction, and has been disabled from service, with the loss of a number of men killed and wounded.

"This enormity was not only without provocation or justifiable cause, but was committed with the avowed purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew; and that no circumstance might be wanting to mark its character, it had been previously ascertained that the seamen demanded were native citizens of the United States. Having effected his purpose, he returned to anchor, with his squadron, within our jurisdiction. Hospitality, under such circumstances, ceases to be a duty, and a continuance of it, with such uncontroulable abuses, would tend only, by multiplying injuries and irritations, to bring on a rupture between the two nations. These extreme resorts is equally opposite to the interests of both, as it is to assurances of the most friendly dispositions on the part of the British Government, in the midst of which this outrage has been committed. In this light the subject cannot but present itself to that Government, and

strengthen the motives to an honourable reparation of the wrong which has been done, and to that effectual controul of its naval commanders, which alone can justify the Government of the United States in the exercise of those hospitalities it is now constrained to discontinue.

" In consideration of these circumstances, and of the right of every nation to regulate its own police, to provide for its peace, and for the safety of its citizens, and consequently to refuse the admission of armed vessels into its harbours or waters, either in such numbers, or of such description, as are inconsistent with these, or with the maintenance of the authority of the laws, I have thought proper, in pursuance of the authorities specially given by law, to issue this my Proclamation, hereby requiring all armed vessels bearing commissions under the Government of Great Britain, now within the harbours or waters of the United States, immediately, and without delay, to depart from the same, and interdicting the entrance of all the said harbours and waters to the said armed vessels, and to all others bearing commissions under the authority of the British Government.

" And if the said vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart as aforesaid, or if they or any others, so interdicted, shall hereafter enter the harbours or waters aforesaid, I do, in that case, forbid all intercourse with them, or any of them, their officers or crews, and do prohibit all supplies and aid from being furnished to them or any of them.

" And I do declare, and make known, that if any person from, or within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, shall afford any aid to any such vessel, or in furnishing her, her officers or crew, with supplies of any kind, or in any manner whatsoever; or if any pilot shall assist in navigating any of the said armed vessels, unless it be for the purpose of carrying them, in the first instance, beyond the limits and jurisdiction of the United

States, or unless it be in the case of a vessel forced by distress, or charged with public dispatches, as hereinafter provided for, such person or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all the pains and penalties by the laws provided for such offences.

"And I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within or under the authority of the United States, and all other, citizens or inhabitants thereof, with vigilance and promptitude to exert their respective authorities, and to be aiding and assisting to the carrying this Proclamation, and every part thereof into full effect.

"Provided, nevertheless, that if any such vessels shall be forced into the harbours or waters of the United States by distress, by the dangers of the sea, or by the pursuit of the enemy, or shall enter them charged with dispatches or business from their Government, or shall be a public packet for the conveyance of letters and dispatches, the commanding officer immediately reporting his vessel to the collector of the district, stating the object or cause of entering the said harbours or waters, and conforming himself to the regulations in that case prescribed under the authority of the laws, shall be allowed the benefit of such regulations respecting repairs, supply, stay, intercourse, and departure, as shall be permitted under the same authority."

(Signed) "T. JEFFERSON."

Washington City, July 2, 1807.

The question now at issue between the British and American governments, is not merely confined to this single act of hostility, committed by an unauthorised individual of the former, against the flag of a national vessel in the service of the United States, but the latter denies all right of search on the part of the British armed vessels, which they contend is a practice highly derogatory to their flag, and inconsistent with their right as an independent nation. They complain, with too much ap-

pearance of truth, that it continually happens that native Americans are impressed and forced to serve in the English navy, on pretence of their being Englishmen; a circumstance, that from a similiarity of habits and language, cannot, perhaps, at all times, be guarded against, even where the fairest intentions are manifest that no such impressment was meant. Yet it is but right and just, that America should defend her citizens for being obliged to serve a foreign power, or compelled to wage war with a nation with whom that Govesnment is in friendly and peaceful alliance.

The United States, whose duty it is to protect her own citizens from interruption and outrage, have, nevertheless, readily consented to embrace any measures that could be devised, to prevent deserters from the British navy finding a refuge in the American territory, or to afford them any shelter on board of her ships. At the same time, they cannot tamely acquiesce in the interested and capricious *demands* of a British officer, to select from the crew of an American *vessel* whoever he may think proper to denominate a British subject.

On the other hand, it has been contended, that no State has such a jurisdiction over its merchant vessels on the high seas, as to exclude a billigerent from the right of searching them for contraband of war, or for the persons and property of enemies; and, if in the exercise of that right, the belligerent should discover on board of a neutral vessel its subjects, who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, upon what ground, it has been asked, can the neutral refuse to give them up? and if the right to impress be clearly in favour of the belligerent, it is one too important to Great Britain, in her present situation; too essential to her safety, in the war in which she is engaged, to be abandoned or relinquished, unless some unexceptionable plan can be devised, of attaining the same end, by means less violent and less liable to abuse. The difficulty of distinguishing between

an Englishman and an American, is no argument against the rights of impressing, though it is a good reason for being cautious and reserved in the exercise of it. If an American is impressed as an Englishman, he ought to be released as soon as his national character is ascertained, and should receive ample compensation for the injury done him, and if any outrage or unnecessary violence has marked the conduct of the belligerent officer who conducted the search, or if there is reason to believe his mistake has been wilful, an exemplary punishment should teach him, that while he enforces the rights of his own country, not to violate those of neutrals.

Notwithstanding the plausibility of such arguments in favour of England, we are well aware that many Americans have been compelled to serve in the British navy; and that the American Government still urges this as a grievence to be adjusted in the existing differences between the two countries.

Great Britain, however, has conceded her right of searching the National vessels belonging to that power, and has recalled Admiral Berkly from his late command on the Halifax station. Prior to these circumstances, and to the suspension of her intercourse with England, the United States continued to prosper beyond all former example. From the 1st of October, 1805, to the 30th of September, 1806, her exports were valued at 101 millions of dollars; of which 44 millions were in native commodities, and the rest in foreign goods re-exported. Their revenue arising almost entirely from the Receipt of Customs, which, in 1805, had not exceeded 13 millions of dollars, rose in 1806 to near 15 millions. The reduction of their national debt proceeded as rapidly as the conditions on which it had been contracted would permit; and, at the close of 1806, the sum actually redeemed, amounted to 23 millions of dollars, equal to more than two-thirds of what remained unpaid.

The tranquillity of their Indian sentiments was se-

cured by the wise and just police of their Government towards the native tribes, whose esteem and confidence it had gained by the unvarying rectitude of its conduct towards them, and by its unceasing attention to promote their happiness and welfare. So successful had been its exertions in eradicating the prejudices and softening the character of these savages, that many of their tribes were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture, and some had disposed of their superfluous territory to purchase the means of improving the remainder.

In the promotion of this wise and laudable police, the brightest part by far of Mr. Jefferson's administration, he was powerfully aided by his predecessors in this beneficent work, the Quakers of Pensylvania, who had been, for some years, employed in inspiring the American Indians with a taste for the comforts of civilized life, and in teaching them the arts which they had formerly rejected and despised.

We shall now return to the affairs of Europe and to some of the more immediate acts connected with the reign of the French Emperor. In conformity to the 5th article of the treaty of Tilsit, Buonaparté conferred a

NEW CONSTITUTION ON POLAND.

Section I. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the State; but all other religions are free. The duchy is divided into six bishoprics, over which one archbishop and five bishops preside.—Slavery is abolished, and all citizens are equal with respect to the law.

II. *Of the Government.*—The archducal crown is hereditary in the Kings of Saxony, who are to appoint a viceroy or president of the ministerial council. The property of the ducal crown consists, 1. In an annual revenue of seven millions of Polish guelders, one half arising from the royal lands and demesnes, the other half from the Treasury; 2. In the royal palace of Warsaw, and the Saxon palace.

III. *Of the ministers of the Council of State.*—The Ministry consists of six members, viz. the ministers of justice, of foreign affairs, of religion, of war, of finances, and of police. There is also a secretary of state. The Council of State is formed out of the ministry, for the purpose of preparing plans of laws, &c. all of which the King hath the power of rejecting.

IV. *Of the General Diet.*—This body is divided into two chambers, viz. the Senate and the representatives. The Diet is to assemble every second year, for 14 days, when a royal Act of Convocation calls the members together.

V. *Of the Senate.*—The chamber has 18 members, consisting of six bishops, six palatines, and castellans, all appointed by the King, who has also the power of increasing the number of Senators to 30, if he shall think fit.

VI. *Of the Chamber of Representatives.*—These consist of 60 deputies, chosen by the district diets of the nobles, and 40 elected by the towns. The members retain their seats for nine years; but at the end of every three years one third of the body is renewed.

VII. This section contains regulations for the meeting of the district, diets, &c.

VIII. *Of the Division of the Territory.*—The Duchy is divided into six departments, to each of which there is a prefect, under prefect, mayors, and a departmental council of from 16 to 24 members.

IX. *Of the Laws.*—"The Napoleon Code shall be the civil law of the Duchy of Warsaw." Each department has a civil and a criminal court. The Council of State is the last court of appeal. The judges are appointed by the King.

X. *Of the Armed Force.*—The standing army consists of 30,000 men. The King can call part of this force into Saxony, but must replace them by an equal number of Saxons.

XI. *General Regulations.*—All who have not places for life may may be dismissed at the pleasure of the king, the deputies only excepted. None but citizens of the

dukedom can be appointed to public situations. All the acts of the Government must be drawn up in the Polish language. All the civil and military orders formerly subsisting in Poland, are to remain unchanged; but the King is their head.

XII. The present imports remain until the 1st of January, 1809. No change can be made in the organization of the troops, until the regulations be made on that subject by the Diet,

"We, Napolean, by the grace of God snd the consitution, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy, have approved, and hereby do approve of the above constitutional Act, which has been submitted to us for carrying into effect the 5th article of the treaty of Tilsit, and which we consider as calculated to fulfil our engagements to the people of Warsaw and Great Poland, by reconciling their freedom and privileges with the tranquillity of the neighbouring States.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Given in the Royal Palace of Dresden,
this 22d day of July, 1807.

If Poland has acquired a new constitution and a settled form of Government, which bids fair to inforce her future happiness—if, after its fatal dismemberment by Prussia, Russia, and Austria, we find her again rearing her head in the scale of nations, we certainly cannot withhold our admiration of the acts that has thus raised and renovated her. But alas! should the appearance of her new-born freedom be only a treacherous lure to ensnare her into the ruined fate of other kingdoms, Buonaparté will be entitled to little praise in exchanging her former fetters only to receive the manacles of a fresh despotism.

While these events were taking place, the Negroes of Hispaniola had organised their Government under the new titles of the Republic of Hayti, and had chosen for their President General Petion. On the 10th of March,

1807, it was announced to the Senate, that the President of Hayti was about to enter the hall of the Assembly, to take the oaths prescribed by the Constitution.

At the same instant a *salve* of artillery was heard, and the President of Hayti was announced; the Senate decreed, that its members should receive him sitting and covered. The President of Hayti appeared, preceded by the Secretary of State, Generals Bazelais and Wagnac, and a great number of civil and military officers.—Mr. Lewis, an officer of the American navy was in the suite. The President of Hayti traversed the hall to the sound of musical instruments, and appeared at the bar, where a chair was prepared to receive him. The President of the Senate, also ordered suitable places for the Secretary of State, Generals Bazelais and Wagnac, and Mr. Lewis.—He then addressed the President of Hayti in the following words:

"*Citizen General.*—The Senate being aware of the necessity of organizing the Government, has proceeded, in its sitting of yesterday, to the nomination of the President of Hayti. The votes of its members have been in your favour; and you have been proclaimed President of the Haytian Republic. The Senate, in elevating you to be first magistrate of the State, conceive they have rendered public homage to your virtues and to the republican sentiments, which have hitherto characterized you. —Entrusted with the execution of the laws and the direction of the armed force, you will become an object of emulation to all those of your fellow-citizens, who follow you in your career. Your attachment to the Republic, your submission to the laws, and your zeal in executing them, are the powerful motives which have determined the legislative corps, to place you at the head of the Government and of the armed force. May God preserve in you that happy character with which you are gifted by nature, and ever render you the object of public admiration!—Bear ever in mind, President, that the

welfare of the Republic depends on the harmony which ought to subsist between the executive power and the ligislative body.—To destroy it would be dangerous to the State, by exposing it to divisions. When the Government is organized the political crisis must cease."

The President of Hayti, standing and uncovered, answered to the following effect:

"Raised by your choice to the first magistrate of the State; become, in some sort, the depository of the happiness and of the destiny of our country, I have the honour of declaring to you, that I should be alarmed at the extent of the obligations you impose on me, if I were not certain of finding in your enlightened minds, in your wisdom, and in your energy, all the resources of which I stand in need. This idea, Senators, is sufficient for me; and accepting with confidence the new mission with which you honour me, my heart will pronounce in the Senate the oath which the Constitution prescribes to the President of Hayti:—

'*I swear to fulfil faithfully the office of President of Hayti, and maintain, with all my might, the Constitution.*'

"May the arms confided to the people for the defence of liberty be directed against my breast, if ever I conceive the audacious and impious project of attempting to violate their rights; if ever I forget, fellow citizens, that, after having given my aid for the destruction of the tyrant, whose existence was a reproach to nature, and after having assisted to proscribe another, who by his blind ambition lighted up among us the flames of civil war, that I have been elevated to the Presidency of Hayti."

The President of the Senate then invited the President of Hayti to take his place on his right, which was done.

"The music then struck up, *Ou peut on etre mieux qu'en sein de sa famille!** A great number of citizens, among

* "Where can we better than in the bosom of our family?" A delightful French air, which speaks almost as forcibly to the heart of every true Frenchman, as the celebrated *Ras de Vaches* does to the wandering Swiss.

whom were remarked several foreign merchants, occupied the galleries. Joy was visible on every countenance."

The Senate, on the proposition of one of its members, declared that there are matters of urgency, and decreed on the 12th of March, as follows:—To the President alone belongs the right of presenting to the Senate persons to be employed in civil and military capacities.

The Senate, on the proposition of one of its members, decreed, on the 21st of March, as follows:

Art. I. The right of transacting political foreign affairs, and carrying on negociations, is temporarily vested in the President of Hayti.

Art. II. The President of Hayti may make, sign, or cause to be signed, with foreign powers, any treaty of alliance or commerce, and, generally, any agreement that he shall judge necessary to the welfare of the State.

These treaties or agreements are negociated in the name of the Republic of Hayti, by agents named by the President of Hayti, and charged with his instructions.

Art. III. In case any secret articles should enter into a treaty, they shall not set aside the principal ones.

Art. IV. No treaty is effective, unless examined and ratified by the Senate.

REPUBLIC OF HAYTI.—LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Proclamation of the President.

"Our brethren in the North, groaning under the tyranny of Christophe, have just made a bold and noble effort to free themselves from his yoke. Throughout the whole country, from the Mose to St. Louis, the people have taken up arms, both cultivators and soldiers. An enterprising leader, *Jean-Louis Rebbeca*, has put himself at their head, and has already gained a most surprising advantage over the satellites of the tyrant.

"A deputation has been addressed to me. All the people of the North acknowledge our Constitution, because it is founded on liberty—they wish to come and live under our Government, that is to say, under a paternal Government.

"Citizens, the transports of joy which this intelligence has excited among you, the ardour which you display in flying to the succour of your brethren in the North, and to unite your efforts to their's in order to punish the tyrant, are the sure guarantees of the success which awaits you.

"Soldiers, the signal for your departure will soon be given; never was there a more glorious expedition—never a more sacred enterprize. You march to secure the liberty and happiness of your brethren; to punish a wretch who is a disgrace to humanity; who, in the delirium of his ferocity, regards neither age nor sex. You march to rescue from the axe of the tyrant, women and children, who, are the helpless victims of his savage cruelty. Pursue him to his last retreat, and leave him no alternative, but a precipitate flight from this island, or inevitable death.

"Soldiers, this expedition against tyranny will not be long; the satellites of Christophe cannot stand a single instant against the soldiers of Liberty. You must endure a little fatigue, and suffer a few privations, but you will be amply recompensed by a rich harvest of glory.

"During the campaign do not depart from the principles of subordination and of discipline; these constitute the true military character—respect the property of the cultivator; respect the property of every citizen; they are all your brethren—the property of Christophe will be your's.

"Remember, that on your return, you owe to your wives and your children, the recital of your military exploits, and of all the circumstances in which you have shewn your courage, and which have led to your honour and dignity; cause your wives to be proud of you, and kindle in the hearts of your childen the desire of imitating your conduct.

(Signed) "PETION."

Port au-Prince, 22d. May, 1807. *Fourth Year of Independence.*

THE END OF VOL. V.

General Custine

General Dumas.

Pub. by M. Jones, June, 1807.

Barriere.

Pub. by M. Jones, Jun. 1819.

General Hoche.

M. Bailly,
late
Mayor of Paris.

Pub. by M. Jones, July. 1791.

General Daendels.

Pub. by M. Jones, July, 1821.

Genl. Dubayet.

Pub. by M. Jones. Oct. 1807.

General Mounier.

Pub. by M. Jones Feb. 1807

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